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ARTICLE I.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE NEW NETHERLANDS AND NEW YORK—A MONOGRAPH OF THE ORIGIN OF LUTHERANISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

PERIOD I.

The Lutheran Church among the Dutch and their Descendants.

LIKE that of the parent state, the population of New Netherlands, as the Dutch¹ called the colony commenced upon the Hudson in the year 1622, was of a very mixed character. Holland, by its extensive commercial relations, its numerous and profitable manufactures, its comparatively free government and religious toleration, had early attracted a large emigration from the surrounding states, especially of such as were persecuted on account of their faith. These refugees were, of course, generally protestants, driven by Romish violence from Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary; the Walloons from Belgium, and the Waldenses from Savoy; great numbers from France, even before the revocation of the edict of Nan-

¹ I use the term "Dutch" in its proper English sense which designates the people of Holland and the low countries, or Netherlands. It is an Americanism, to confound the people of Holland and of Germany, and to use "Dutch" and "German" as synonymous.

tes, as well as Englishmen driven away by the prelatical violence of professed protestants. Many of these exiles, coming to Holland in search of a home, naturally turned their eyes to the colonies which the republic, rapidly rising to the zenith of its power, was establishing in various parts of the world, to which it had such ready access by its vast commercial marine, and which were safely guarded by its victorious navies. Thus the first company of emigrants sent to the New Netherlands, contained no less than thirty families of Walloons, who were soon joined by Frenchmen, Waldenses, Englishmen, Germans, Swedes, Danes and Norwegians. Even as early as 1643, when the population of New Amsterdam, as the present city of New York was then called, did not exceed four or five hundred souls, the celebrated Jesuit missionary, Father Jogues, delivered from his captivity among the Iroquois, by the kindness of the protestant authorities of the infant colony, and detained there for a month, whilst waiting for a ship to carry him back to France, informs us that the colony was composed of "people of different sects and nations," who spoke no less than "eighteen different languages."¹ To this he adds, "there are in the colony, besides the Calvinists, Catholics, English Puritans, *Lutherans*, Anabaptists, here called Mennonists, and others."²

This is the first distinct notice which we have of the existence of Lutherans in the New Netherlands, though it is quite possible that they may have been there at a somewhat earlier period. The Lutheran church was the first form of protestantism in Holland. There its earliest martyrs, John Esch, Henry Voes, Anna of Hove, and Pistorius shed their blood, and triumphed amid the flames, whilst thousands of others, year after year, imitated their example, until the land was almost desolated by the number of victims destroyed or driven into exile. The whole power of the emperor, Charles the Fifth, exerted in this his native country, seemed at length to have suppressed or exterminated the Reformation in Holland. But the fire thus smothered soon burst forth in a more violent, if not in a brighter flame. The denial of religious, led to the assertion of civil liberty. The whole nation was at length aroused, and united for the expulsion of their political as well as of their ecclesiastical oppressors. But closer association with the Swiss and French reformers, and with those free cities of Germany where the Reformed faith had been introduced, separated the new movement in Holland from Lutheranism,

¹ Brodhead's History of New York, page 374.

² Document. History of New York, Vol. IV., page 19.

and the Belgic Confession of 1561, which soon became a national symbol, was of a decidedly Calvinistic character. Lutheran elements still survived in Holland, and churches were gradually organized, but the great mass of the nation embraced the Reformed system of faith.

Confounded in popular opinion with the Arminians, though never sympathising with them in their doctrinal system, the Dutch Lutherans were exposed to the unpopularity and persecutions of that well known party. Under the influence of party excitement, and stimulated by the decrees of the Synod of Dordt (1619), of which Maurice, the crafty Prince of Orange, availed himself for the accomplishment of his political schemes, the States General of Holland, for a time, forgot the principles of religious as well as of civil freedom, for which they had so long and so successfully contended. Not only was the illustrious patriot, Oldenbarneveldt, put to death, and the great statesman and jurist, Grotius, in danger of a similar fate, which he only escaped by flight, but the severest decrees were issued against the Remonstrants, or Arminians, as a body. Many fled to Germany, where the city of Friedrichstadt, which they founded in Holstein, became their common place of refuge. The difficulties in which they were thus involved, in all probability, induced many Lutherans to seek an asylum in the western world, where they, doubtless, hoped that they would be delivered from the disabilities under which they labored in their native land. In this, however, they were grievously disappointed. The colonial authorities of the New Netherlands proved far less liberal and tolerant than those of the mother country, or "*fader-landt*," (fatherland) as the Dutch colonists were accustomed to express themselves.

It is remarkable that a nation, in whose birth religion was one of the most active agencies, should so soon have lost its interest in religious principles, and become so completely immersed in the pursuit of gain, as was notoriously the case with the dutch. It is to be hoped that the statement which represents their merchants as trampling upon the cross in order to secure a footing and trade in Japan, is a mere invention of the Jesuits. But that in their commercial speculations in all parts of the world, christian principle and the promotion of religious interests, was generally lost sight of, admits of no doubt. This was lamentably the fact in the New Netherlands. Neither in the first charter of 1614, nor in that of 1621, is there the slightest reference to the propagation of christianity, or to the interests of religion, as was almost universally the case in the plans of colonization, adopted by the christian nations of Europe,

when they first took possession of the western world. It is true that these professions of zeal for the extension of christianity, and for the conversion of the heathen have, in modern times, been looked upon with great suspicion, and have been even made the subject of ridicule, but it is a very shallow philosophy that judges one age by the prevalent sentiment of another. Religion was a leading idea with Europeans of the sixteenth, and of the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Reformation took the place of the Crusades, as a great religious movement, and the thirty years' war in Germany, as well as the revolt of the Netherlands, was a struggle of protestantism with Romanism. The new policy of the Dutch in their American colonies, perhaps marks a new era, the transition from the religious to the commercial policy of the leading European powers.

Be this as it may, it was not until over ten years after the first colony was settled in the New Netherlands (1623), and a quarter of a century after they had claimed that part of the world as their own, and established an active trade with it, that the first minister of the gospel made his appearance at New Amsterdam. It was not until 1633 that the Rev. Everard Bogardus came out as the first minister of the Dutch Reformed church, and commenced to officiate at New Amsterdam, where no church was yet erected, public worship being conducted in a large loft over a horse-mill.¹ The same year, however, the first church was erected, a barn-like, wooden structure, on the East River, in what is now called Broad street, between Pearl and Bridge streets.² It was not until 1642 that the second Dutch clergyman (or Dominie, as ministers are usually termed among the Dutch, and also among their descendants in America) made his appearance in the colony. This second clergyman was called, in the Latin style, which the Dutch clergy have been so fond of affecting, Johannes Megapolensis, and was first settled in Rensselaerswyck, near the present city of Albany. Seven years after, he was settled at New Amsterdam, and was then the only minister of the Dutch church on the Hudson. Even as late as 1656, there were but four Dutch clergymen in the New Netherlands; two (Megapolensis and

¹ In the "Charter of Liberties," granted by the company to the colonists in 1629, it was stipulated that "the patroons and colonists should endeavor to find out ways and means whereby they may support a minister and a schoolmaster, that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cool among them, and that they do, for the first, procure a comforter of the sick there," but it was not until the time stated in the text, that anything more was done than to appoint such a "Sickentrosler," or visiter of the sick.

² Brodhead's History, page 243.

Drisius) at New Amsterdam, Schoats at Beversych, or Albany, and Polhemus at Brooklyn, on Long Island.

By this time the Lutherans had become quite numerous in the province. As long as their number was small they were content to meet together in private houses, for prayer and the reading of the scriptures by one of themselves, a layman appointed for the purpose of conducting these social devotions. When this laudable practice was first introduced among them, we have no means of determining with certainty, but it is possible that it was as early as 1644, as father Jogues, whom we have already quoted, tells us that, although no religion but the Calvinistic was publicly exercised, and none but Calvinists, (Dutch Reformed) were to be admitted into the province, this was not rigorously observed, and the various denominations that he mentions were found there. Two years before this, (1642) Francis Doughty, an Independent clergyman, and several of his friends, driven from New England on account of some difference from the prevalent Puritan faith, emigrated thence to Manhattan, that they might there enjoy the freedom of conscience which they had vainly sought in New England.¹ They were kindly received by Governor Kieft, who granted them a charter, securing to them thirteen thousand acres of land upon Long Island, where Mespath, subsequently called Newtown, was built. This charter also secured them freedom of religion, and all the other political franchises enjoyed by the most favored colonists of the province. In 1645 similar privileges were granted to the English inhabitants of Gravesend, and Richard Denton, a Presbyterian clergyman, had preached without molestation at Hamstedt (Hempstead) as early as 1644. It is, therefore, altogether probable that for some years the Lutherans had enjoyed the privilege of meeting together for religious worship without molestation.

We cannot but look with sympathy at this little band of exiles thus drawing together for prayer and praise to God, and the reading of his word, and here in the wilderness, organizing their little congregation of true believers, according to the direction and promise of Christ, "Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Thus was Luther's idea practically realized, that if a band of christians were cast together upon a desert island, or met in a wilderness, without bishop or priest, they could still organize a true church of Christ.² Nor can we doubt that

¹ Brodhead's History, 333.

² See his Address to the German Nobility on the Reformation, &c., p. 7.

these services were equally acceptable to God, and edifying to those who engaged in them.

Yet were these founders of the Lutheran church in New York (whose names we regret that we cannot here record) by no means bigoted or exclusive separatists. They rejoiced in the privilege of meeting with their brethren of the Reformed church, for the public worship of God, and were anxious to have their children baptized by their ministers, and thus engrafted into the body of Christ. But upon this point of baptism arose the first difficulty between the little body of Lutherans and the ministers of the Reformed Church. The Lutherans were anxious to have their children baptized, but they objected to a baptismal formula that had recently been introduced by the violent partisans and adherents of the Synod of Dordt, according to which, both parents and sponsors were required to profess their belief in the truth of the doctrines promulgated by the Synod of Dordt,¹ and to train up their children in the same. To this, of course, no conscientious or intelligent Lutheran could conform. They were willing to have their children baptized according to the old Dutch formulary, by which parents and sponsors acknowledged generally, "that the doctrine contained in the Old and New Testaments, and in the articles of the christian faith, and consequently taught in the christian church, is the true and perfect doctrine of salvation."² But beyond this they were not willing to go. This drew upon them the bitter hostility of the Reformed ministers, Megapolensis and Drisius, who not only insisted upon retaining the obnoxious liturgy, but likewise demanded that all Lutheran fathers should attend with their children at church, and have them publicly baptized according to this formulary. Several Lutherans refusing to comply with this tyrannical order, were dragged before a magistrate, fined, and upon refusal to pay the fine, thrown into prison.³

Going still further in this persecution of their unoffending brethren, the Dutch Reformed clergymen soon after endeavored to deprive them of even the poor privilege of meeting together in their own private houses for the purpose of social worship. Stuyvesant, the last and most celebrated Governor of the colony, was prevailed upon to pass decrees and issue proclamations prohibiting such meetings, which were stigmatized under the name of "*conventicles*".⁴ This was so con-

¹ O'Callaghan's History of New Netherland, II. p. 318.

² Ibid. p. 346. ³ Ibid. p. 320.

⁴ So I infer from the petition of the Lutherans of Oct. 24, 1656, and from O'Callaghan's History N. N., II. p. 320.

try to the policy, laws and customs of "the fatherland," that the Lutherans were emboldened to take an appeal, or, at least, send a petition for a redress of grievances to the Directors of the West India Company, and to the States of Holland. At the same time, they made known to their Lutheran brethren in Holland, their destitute and oppressed condition. This appeal naturally excited great sympathy in their behalf, and was promptly attended to by the Lutheran [Consistory of Amsterdam.

The Lutheran church in Holland was at that time (1650-53) organized very much in accordance with the mode of government adopted by the Dutch Reformed church.¹ Each congregation had a body of Elders and Deacons who, together with the Pastor, formed the church council or consistory, by which the congregations were governed, and their business conducted. There was also a Synod, formed by the representatives of the several congregations, by which the whole church was governed.

In 1786 the Lutheran congregation of Amsterdam, the most important member of their church-association, numbered thirty thousand souls, so that it must have been large even in the middle of the preceding century.² Zealous in the cause of the church, it not only undertook to defend the rights, and forward the petition of its brethren in America, first with the Directors of the West India Company, and afterwards with the States General, but seems also to have suggested the necessity of supplying the little congregation in New Amsterdam with a faithful pastor of its own.

Simultaneously with these petitions of the persecuted Lutherans, their persecutors, the Dutch Reformed preachers, Megapolensis and Drisius, forwarded to their friends, especially to the officers of the Classis of Amsterdam, to which the management of church affairs in the New Netherlands had been committed by the West India Directors, letters remonstrating against conceding to the Lutherans the privileges for which they so humbly petitioned. In a letter to the Classis, dated the 6th of October, 1653, they bewailed the spread of sectarianism in the province, and spoke of the dangerous consequences of making such concessions to the Lutherans, whom they repre-

¹ See Wiggers' *Kirchliche Statistik*, II. 280.

² Since 1791 the Lutheran church in Holland has been divided into two parties, the one orthodox, the other rationalistic. The former is the more numerous, embracing (in 1840) 57 ministers and about fifty thousands members, the latter (who also call themselves "Lutherans of the Restored Church" (*herstelde Ev. Lutherische Kerk*) ten pastors and ten or twelve thousand members.—Wiggers II. 281-2.

sented in the most unfavorable light. To allow them to form congregations and build churches would, they argued, be a dangerous precedent, as the Anabaptists or Mennonists, Quakers and English Independents, of whom there were already many in the province, would then demand the same thing for themselves.¹ These representations being strengthened by the influence of their Governor, Stuyvesant, and of the Classis of Amsterdam, the Directors of the West India Company were at first misled, and gave at least a half official sanction to this persecution. The petition of the Lutherans was refused, and a resolution passed to the effect that, "they would encourage no other doctrine in New Netherlands than the true Reformed." Still, they did not sanction or approve of any violence, but instructed Stuyvesant to act carefully, but yet to "use all moderate means to allure the Lutherans to the Dutch churches, and to matriculate them in the Reformed religion, as by law established."² "This departure from the policy of the Batavian Republic was," as Brodhead very properly observes in the narrative from which we have just quoted, "a triumph of bigotry over statesmanship; and one of the crowning glories of the Fatherland was, for a season, denied to New Netherlands." Still, the departure was not at once obvious. It was only *toleration*, and not perfect religious liberty and freedom of conscience, that dissenters from the established or Reformed church enjoyed in the Netherlands. It was only in private houses that the professors of other forms of faith were, for a long time, allowed to exercise their worship. Even after this time, it was considered as a special favor to the Lutherans of Holland, that they were allowed to erect churches with steeples, and place in them bells, to call together their congregations for the public worship of God. As we have already seen much of the liberality that characterized the Dutch Reformed church and government immediately after their successful assertion of the rights of conscience against Romish intolerance and Spanish tyranny, was lost by the excitement growing out of the Arminian controversy. Protestantism has never produced a party more intolerant in its bigotry than the Gomarists or Calvinists, who finally shaped the decrees of the

¹ Brodhead's History of New York, 582.

² Brodhead ubi supra, only I have changed the translation of the phrase, "public Reformed religion," as in the text. I have also examined the copies of original documents procured by Mr. Brodhead in Holland, together with the official records in the public archives of the State of New York, kept in the office of the Secretary of State at Albany, but refer to O'Callaghan and Brodhead wherever their researches coincide with my own, as their works are more accessible, and contain all necessary references to the records.

Synod of Dordt, and, through the house of Orange, governed the state as well as the church of the Seven United Provinces. At the distance of only thirty or forty years from the height of that excitement, the reaction against it had not yet fairly set in. This episode in the history of the New Netherlands, after the middle of the seventeenth century, (1650-60) clearly proves that they had not yet reached that important point, of which Brodhead says,¹ "the consequences of that famous theological controversy (between the Gomarists and Arminians) gave all parties among the Dutch so terrible a warning, that the suggestions of bigotry ever after remained unheeded."

Certain it is, that neither the Classis of Amsterdam nor their ministers in the New Netherlands, now felt anything of such a liberalizing influence. Rejoicing in the conclusion to which they had exerted all their influence in bringing the West India Directors, they doubtless regarded this refusal of the right of worship to the Lutherans, as a grand triumph of orthodoxy, and in their letter of February 26, 1554, communicating the result to Megapolensis and Drisius, expressed the "hope that the Reformed religion would now be preserved and maintained without hindrance from the Lutheran and other errors." In this they were vigorously seconded by the colonial Governor, Stuyvesant, who was a zealous Calvinist, and had already declared that his "oath of office bound him to tolerate openly no other religion than the Reformed." Encouraged by this action of his superiors at home, and overlooking all their counsels to "moderation," he published another severe proclamation against conventicles, showed the Lutherans that they could expect no indulgence from him, encouraged the ministers in their enforcement of the obnoxious baptismal formulary, and continued to punish recusants by fines and imprisonment.

But this was not all. Before any effectual remonstrances could be made against this violence in Holland, Stuyvesant, stimulated by the clergy, proceeded still further. Early in 1656 Megapolensis and Drisius again complained to the Governor of the preaching and conventicles held in the colony by unqualified persons, from which, they declared that "nothing could be expected but discord, confusion, and disorder in church and state." Determined to prove himself a zealous son of the church, Stuyvesant immediately issued a proclamation, in which the professed object was, "to promote the glory of God, the increase of the Reformed religion, and the peace

¹ In his History of New York, p. 103.

and harmony of the country."¹ In this, preachers, not called thereto by ecclesiastical or temporal authority, were forbidden to hold conventicles not in conformity with the established religion as set forth by the Synod of Dordt, "and here in this land, and in the Fatherland, and in other Reformed churches observed and followed." Every unlicensed preacher who should violate this ordinance, was subjected to a penalty of one hundred pounds Flemish; and every person who should attend such prohibited meetings, became liable to a penalty of twenty-five pounds. And yet, with the most amazing inconsistency, this same ordinance pretended to disclaim "any prejudice to any patent hitherto granted, any lording over the conscience, or any prohibition of the reading of God's holy word, and the domestic praying of each one in his family."

This decree was directed specifically against the Lutherans, and was enforced against them, not only in New Amsterdam, but likewise in Albany, then called Beverswycke and Fort Orange, where a placard or proclamation which De Decher, the Vice-director writes to his superior, Stuyvesant, (March 10, 1656) that he had drawn up and published against the congregation of Lutherans² at that place, first informs us of the existence of the Lutheran church in what is now the capital of New York.

Cast down, but not despairing, the little band of Lutherans again applied to their friends in the Lutheran Consistory of Amsterdam for their good offices with the West India Directors, to whom they sent a second petition for liberty of worship. Their friends were not inactive, nor were their representations without effect. Stuyvesant and the New Amsterdam preachers had gone too far, and exhibited a degree of violence, that alarmed the sober Directors of the West India Company. They assured the friends of the persecuted Lutherans that their wrongs should be redressed, and persecution terminated.

In accordance with this, the Directors immediately wrote, (June 14, 1656) rebuking the Governor for his bigoted zeal. "We would fain not have seen," said they, "your worship's hand set to the placard against the Lutherans, nor have heard that you oppressed them with the imprisonments of which they have complained to us, because it has always been our intention to let them enjoy all calmness and tranquility. Wherefore you will not hereafter publish any similar placards,

¹ Brodhead, 617.

² O'Callaghan, II. 320.

without our previous consent, but allow to all, the free exercise of their religion within their own houses."¹

This was a point gained, but still afforded the church but a very partial relief. They therefore continued, through their friends in Amsterdam, to lay their grievances before the Directors of the West India Company, from whom they finally received the assurance that they should enjoy, in the New Netherlands, the same privileges as were accorded to the Lutheran church in their native country. This announcement was, of course, received with great joy by the little flock in New Amsterdam. In a petition to the Governor, dated the 24th of October, 1656, they once more entreated him, in the most humble terms, to grant them the privilege of meeting together for the purposes of social worship, until the arrival of a suitable minister, promised them by their friends in the Amsterdam Consistory, should enable them to organize their church, and conduct public worship in its proper form. The following is a copy of this most interesting paper, one of the earliest documents in the history of our church in New York, which has reached us:

"We, the united members of the church of the unaltered Augsburg Confession here in New Netherlands, do hereby show, with all due reverence, that we have been obedient to your Honor's prohibitions and published placards, so that we have been unwilling to collect together publicly in any place to worship our God with reading and singing. But we solicited our friends in our Fatherland to obtain this privilege for us, and they so exerted themselves in our behalf with the noble Directors of the West India Company, our Patroons, that, according to their letters to us, by their entreaties they obtained [from the Directors] that they unanimously resolved and concluded that the doctrine of the unaltered Augsburg Confession should be tolerated in the West Indies and New Netherlands, which are under their direction, as is the practice in our Fatherland, under its excellent government. Wherefore, we address ourselves to your Honor, willing to acknowledge your Honor, as dutiful and obedient servants, with the prayer that you will not any longer interrupt our religious exercises which we desire, under God's blessing, to conduct with reading and singing, until, as we hope and expect, under God's aid, a properly qualified person shall, next spring, arrive from our Fatherland, to instruct us and take care of our souls."²

¹ Brodhead, 618.

² O'Callaghan's History of New Netherlands, II. 320-note. I have here also changed the English construction and phraseology of what is evidently

This information was anything but satisfactory to the Governor and his clerical instigators to persecution. The former brought the subject before his council, where it was resolved to write to Holland for further information, and, in the meantime to enforce the proclamation against conventicles. The latter continued their importunities with their friends in the Classis of Amsterdam, to deliver them from so terrible an evil as the establishment of a Lutheran church in the pious colony of New Netherlands.

But, in defiance of all this opposition, to the great joy of the Lutherans, and the chagrin of their persecutors, in the summer of 1657 (June 6), arrived the first Lutheran minister who had ever visited the banks of the Hudson. His name was *John Ernest Goetwater*, and he was sent by the Lutheran Consistory of Amsterdam, to minister to their suffering brethren in New Amsterdam, and was also, doubtless, designed to act as a missionary among the scattered Lutherans in other parts of the colony. His reception by the civic and ecclesiastical dignitaries of New Amsterdam, is thus described by the impartial O'Callaghan:¹ "Religious excitement now took the place of political. . . . The Dutch clergymen immediately informed the authorities of the circumstance. Dominie Goetwater was cited before the authorities, and forbidden to exercise his calling. Messrs. Megapolensis and Drisius demanded that he should be sent back to Holland in the same ship in which he had arrived. He was ordered to quit the province accordingly. Sickness, however, prevented his compliance with this harsh and unchristian mandate. He was, therefore, put 'on the limits of the city,' and finally forced to embark for Holland." But it was not until the 16th of October, that this inhuman decree was executed.

During this brief period of something over three months, therefore, the Lutherans enjoyed the presence, and some sort of services of a pastor. True, he was not allowed to preach in public, but he could still visit from house to house, and, perhaps, conduct their social devotions. At the same time he was watched with the greatest jealousy, and any infraction of the tyrannical law against conventicles would, if discovered, have been punished with the utmost severity. Unfortunately, Mr. Goetwater and his friends had not succeeded in obtaining from the West India Directors, a license for him to emigrate and act as pastor of the Lutheran congregation in New Amsterdam.

a very imperfect translation, and greatly regret that I have not access to this very interesting document in the original.

¹ History of New Netherlands, II. 345, 346.

But both he and they believed in "the higher law" of doing what was clearly enjoined upon them as duty, even in opposition to the laws of the land. The word of God commanded them to "preach the word" and administer the ordinances of the gospel wherever they were needed, and they could not doubt that it was "*right to obey God rather than man.*" Pastor Goetwater was, therefore, in their opinion, authorized by a power higher than that of the West India Directors to go to the New Netherlands, in order to collect and feed the little flock scattered in that western wilderness. Besides, they knew that the intolerance which Governor Stuyvesant and the Dutch Reformed ministers were attempting to exercise there, was contrary to the well established maxims of the parent state, and they did not believe that their charter permitted, or that the States General would allow of this persecution and oppression for conscience' sake. The dark night of bigotry was rolling away in Holland, and they could not doubt that such would, ere long, be the case in all its colonies.

But to considerations of this kind, as well as to those of christian charity, the ministers, Megapolensis and Drisius seem to have been altogether inaccessible. Not content with stirring up the provincial authorities to persecute the Lutherans, and to prohibit the settlement of a pastor among them, they unblushingly, and even with an air of merit for worthy service rendered, wrote to their friends of the Classis of Amsterdam, detailing very minutely what they had done in the business. This curious monument of sectarian bitterness may be found in the third volume of the "Documentary History of New York," pp. 103-108, where it bears the date of August 5, 1657. We insert the part connected with our history. It is addressed to the "Reverend, pious, learned sirs, fathers and brothers in Christ Jesus" of the Classis of Amsterdam. After acknowledging "the fatherly care and affection which their Reverences and the Honorable Lords Majores (the Directors) evince for the prosperity of their congregation, and the trouble taken by them to prevent the injuries which threaten this community from the encroachments of heretical spirits," they thus proceed :

"Last year the Lutherans gave out here that they had the consent of the Lords Majores (or Directors) to call a Lutheran pastor from Holland. They therefore petitioned the Honorable Director and Council for permission to hold, in the meantime, their conventicles, thus to prepare the way for their expected and coming minister. Though they began to urge on so strongly, we, nevertheless, (being animated and cheered by

your letters) hoped for the best, though dreading the worst, which even now has arrived. For, though we could not imagine that the noble Lords Majors could have given any consent, yet it notwithstanding came to pass, that a Lutheran preacher, named *Joannes Ernestus Goetwater*, arrived in the ship Mill, to the great joy of the Lutherans, and to the especial discontent and disapprobation of the congregation of this place, yea of the whole land, even of the English. We, thererore, went to the honorable Director General, and the Burgomasters and Schepins of this city, and presented the accompanying petition,¹ whereupon it followed that they cited the Lutheran minister before their Honors, demanding of him with what intention he was come here, and what he had as a commission and credentials. He answered, that he had come to be Lutheran preacher here, but he had no other commission than a letter from the Lutheran Consistory at Amsterdam, to the Lutheran congregation here. Whereupon he was informed by the honorable authorities here, that he should abstain from all church service, or from holding any meeting; and not to deliver the letter from the Lutherans at Amsterdam which he had brought with him, without further order, regulating himself in the meantime, according to the placards of this province, enacted against private conventicles; which he promised to do, but said that he was expecting further orders and commission by the first ships. In the meanwhile, we already have the snake in our bosom. We would have been glad that the Lords Regent had opened the letter of the Lutheran Consistory, in order to ascertain from it the secret of the mission. But they have as yet been unwilling to do this. We demanded also that the noble Lord's Regent should send the Lutheran minister back in the same ship in which he arrived, inasmuch as he came hither without the consent of the noble Directors, in order to put a stop to their work, which they seem disposed to push forward with a hard Lutheran pate,² in despite and opposition of the Regents, for we suspected that he came to see if he will be permitted and suffered here, and to found other progress thereupon. But we know not what we shall accomplish herein."

¹ I have not been able to get hold of a copy of this petition, which would be interesting, by way of showing the arguments urged by Protestants for repressing liberty of conscience.

² "A hard Dutch head" is proverbial: if the Lutherans of Holland were distinguished for this peculiarity beyond their countrymen generally, their case was remarkable.

The letter contains sundry other indications of the bitter prejudice and violent opposition of these professed ambassadors of the Prince of Peace, to their Lutheran brethren. We have had occasion (in our article upon "*The Swedish Churches on the Delaware,*" *Evangelical Review*, Vol. I. p. 250) to state the fact of their desire to deprive the Swedes of their pastors and churches, and need not here pursue that subject any further. We do not, however, wish to represent these Dutch Reformed clergymen as "sinners above all other" men in this matter, or as utterly unworthy of their high vocation. On the contrary, Dominie Megapolensis especially appears to have possessed many good traits of character. He seems to have been anxious to evangelize the Indians, treated the Jesuit Missionary, Father Jogues, with great kindness, and wrote several works of a very respectable literary, as well as devotional character. But he was not able to rise above the heavy polemical atmosphere in which he had been trained as a theologian, and we here see the danger to which even good men are exposed when they engage in religious controversy. This is only another instance of even professed christians believing that they were "doing God service" by persecuting those who conscientiously differed from them. And even yet, in our day, and in this land of liberty, how many are there who have not learned that other men have a conscience as well as themselves, and that in matters of faith, as well as of duty, God alone can judge unerringly, and that to Him we must leave the final decision. "*Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth.*"

But not even the Dutch West India Directors were yet pervaded by a proper sense of the rights of conscience, possessed by the humblest of their colonists, as well as by themselves. Whatever promises they had made to the Lutheran Consistory of Amsterdam, in reference to the religious rights of their brethren in New Amsterdam, they approved of the expulsion of Mr. Goetwater from the colony, and refused to concede any thing more than permission to individuals to pray and read the scriptures in their own houses, together with a modification of the baptismal formula, or rather the substitution of the old for the new formulary, against which last the Lutherans had more especially complained. They reproved the ministers quite sharply for their obstinacy in this matter, and pointed out the impolicy of the course which they were pursuing: "The fastidious, and those of tender conscience would, by a moderate course, be gained over in time, and the interests of religion, and of the country, be promoted. The clergy were too much

imbued with the leaven of needless precision. They scrupled using the old formulary, without a previous order from Classis, lest they should be guilty of innovation. But those might, with more truth, be termed innovators, who had originally altered the form of baptism. The new formulary had not been sanctioned, either by the church or by the Classis. All moderate clergymen acknowledged this. It was a matter purely ceremonial, to be followed or omitted, according to circumstances. The Directors expected that the ministers at New Amsterdam would have so decided, after they had been once admonished. Whatever harmony there existed was, in their opinion, very precarious, whilst "that overbearing precision, so shocking to the feelings of others, is not avoided." And they were finally admonished, that "if their present course were persisted in, a separate church must be allowed to the Lutherans, who will not find it very difficult, on complaining to the home government, to obtain that privilege, to curtail which, every endeavor will then be vain."¹

But these prudent representations were altogether unavailing to stop the fury of persecution which had now been aroused in the hearts of both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of New Amsterdam, who continued to proceed from one act of violence to another. They had made it a reason for refusing liberty of worship to the Lutherans, that "the Anabaptists would then claim the same right." But a body of enthusiasts, who laughed to scorn the orthodoxy of the Lutherans, and the ceremonial particularity of the Anabaptists, now made their appearance, and whilst they showed the fearful length in violence which those who had taken up the sword to defend their religious system, were prepared to go, likewise proved how completely tyranny may be baffled by patient endurance. The followers of George Fox, commonly called Quakers, driven out of New England by Puritan, as they had previously been from Great Britain by prelatical intolerance, just at this time, (1657) made their appearance in New Amsterdam. Their reception here was by no means more christian. Fined, imprisoned, scourged, tortured, condemned to hard labor upon bread and water, banished, and treated with every mark of ignominy, they endured it all with the most unshrinking firmness. Neither men nor women could be subdued or wearied out, or induced to make the least concession to the exactions of tyranny. Disgusted as we are, with the wild eccentricities of these Quakers, and their contempt of all decorum, destitute of

¹ O'Callaghan's History of New Netherlands, II. 646.

all sympathy for their religious system, and believing that "light" which they claimed to have "within" them, to have been, in general, the grossest darkness, we are yet compelled to respect their firmness and obedience to the dictates of what they regarded as duty, and to rejoice in the victory which they finally achieved over the fury of all their enemies.

For five years the little colony of the New Netherlands continued to rival in its intolerance and persecuting fury, the great empire, by its bold resistance of which, its mother country had covered itself with so much glory. In fact, as time advanced, the colonial authorities seemed to increase in violence, and Governor Stuyvesant was in a fair way to rival, in his atrocities, in this obscure corner of the new world, the bloody administration of Alba in the Netherlands. In 1662, he published another still more stringent proclamation against the preaching of any other than the Reformed (Dutch) religion, "either in houses, barns, ships, or yachts, in the woods or fields,"¹ under a penalty of fifty guilders for the first offence, "on each person found in attendance thereupon, whether man, woman or child, or who shall provide accommodations for heretics, vagabonds, or strollers, double that sum for the second offence; and four times the amount, with arbitrary correction, for the third infraction of this law. All seditious or seducing books, papers or letters, were also forbidden to be imported or distributed, under a fine of one hundred and fifty guilders on the receivers, together with the confiscation of all such publications."

Nor were these decrees to remain unexecuted and idle threats. On the contrary, Stuyvesant and his subordinates at once proceeded to enforce them in the most rigorous manner. But the determined manner in which he was met by a single individual, finally arrested his tyrannical career, and covered him with confusion and disgrace. John Bowne, a native of Derbyshire in England, having settled at Flushing, on Long Island, had there united with the Quakers, who, thenceforward, made his house their head-quarters in the Dutch colony. Under the stringent decree against sectarians, just mentioned, he was cited before the Director General, who imposed upon him a fine of twenty-five pounds, and ordered him to be committed to prison until it was paid. Although a man of considerable means, Bowne refused to pay his fine, preferring, with the determined spirit of the genuine English yeoman, rather to rot in prison

¹ O'Callaghan, II. 454, 455.

than submit to injustice. There he remained. At the end of three months, Stuyvesant, thinking that this "obstinate and pernicious" man, as he called him, was a very suitable person to be made an example of, and, perhaps, to serve as a specimen of these restless spirits to the Lords Directors in Holland, determined to banish him from the colony, and send him to Holland, to receive his final sentence from the Directors there. But there the affairs turned out very differently from what he had anticipated. Arrived in Holland, Bowne, not at all subdued, seized the first opportunity, as he expresses it, "to manifest his case to the West India Company."¹ The result was far more favorable than he could have anticipated. According to his own account, the Directors "were not disposed to take offence at our (Quaker) manners, or the like, neither one word against me in particular, nor one word tending to the approval of anything that was done against us." On the contrary, a dispatch was (on the 16th of April, 1663) transmitted by the Directors at Amsterdam, to Governor Stuyvesant, severely censuring the course he had pursued. Arriving, at length, at the conclusions which ought, from the first, to have governed them, and which were so important a part of the commercial, as well as of the religious system of the Seven United Provinces, they thus admonish him: "In the youth of your existence you ought rather to encourage than to check the population of the colony. The consciences of men ought to be free and unshackled, so long as they continue moderate, peaceable, inoffensive, and not hostile to government. Such have been the maxims of prudence and of toleration, by which the magistrates of this city (Amsterdam) have been governed; and the consequences have been, that the oppressed and persecuted from every country, have found among us an asylum from distress. Follow in the same steps, and you will be blessed."²

This reproof, mild but firm, was effectual in putting an end to persecution in the New Netherlands, and relieved all other sufferers, as well as the Quakers. Even the Lutheran church, therefore, owes a debt of gratitude to these inflexible fanatics, as well as to other defenders of the rights and freedom of conscience. Should it not, therefore, moderate the severity of our judgment, and impress us with feelings of charity for these and for all other victims of intolerance, when we find that, notwithstanding all their errors, they render such inestimable service to the highest interests of religion, as well as to the common

¹ O'Callaghan, *ubi supra* p. p. 456, 457.

² *Ibidem* 457.

rights of humanity? The Lutheran church struck the first great blow for freedom of conscience, and laid down the great principles upon which it is forever to be maintained and defended; but this is only an additional reason why she should sympathise with all sufferers in the same cause, and why she should rejoice alike in the triumphs of the non-resistant Quaker, and of the indomitable Puritan, who maintained with his sword what he believed to be the cause of truth, and over the prostrate throne, and broken sceptre, and bloody trunk of Charles Stuart, as well as in the revolutionized provinces severed from the empire of his successor here in America, asserted and placed upon an immovable basis, the perfect equality of all men before God, and their right to worship him every where, according to the dictates of their own untrammeled conscience.

What steps the Lutherans in the New Netherlands took in accordance with the liberty now granted them, we are not informed. Pastor Goetwater had been banished from the colony for some six years, and settled elsewhere, could not be expected to re-enter the field which he had so reluctantly left. But that they were intent upon supplying his place with some one else, there can be no doubt, as we learn from the petition which their pastor, the Rev. J. A. Weygand, and others, presented to Governor Colden in 1763, the truth of which was admitted by the provincial authorities, that the congregation was first established in the city of New York, "previous to the conquest of the Dutch in 1664,"¹ upon which fact they based their title to a charter and perfect toleration, in accordance with the terms of capitulation, made by the English with Stuyvesant, whereby all "their religious privileges, as well as their possessions, were guaranteed to the people of New Amsterdam, or New York." They seem to have proceeded at once to build a church, but before they could succeed in obtaining another pastor, their old oppressor, Governor Stuyvesant, was to be punished still more signally, of which we may here give a hasty sketch, not only as connected with our narrative, but as an instance of retributive justice speedily overtaking even the most powerful offender.

Even before the signal rebuke which he received from his superiors in Holland, Stuyvesant had, in the language of O'Callaghan, had "the bitter chalice from which he had caused so many others to drink, brought to his own lips." Judith Varleth, his brother-in-law's sister, was seized and imprisoned

¹ Documentary History of New York, III. 491-495.

in Hartford, on the charge of being a witch, and Stuyvesant now found himself obliged to implore, in her behalf, that forbearance and mercy which he had so often refused to extend to others. But this was only the beginning of his humiliation. In 1664 the English suddenly renewed the war against Holland, that had been terminated but two years before, and laying claim to the whole colony of the New Netherlands, fitted out an expedition, under the command of Col. Nicholls, for its conquest. On the 26th of August the British fleet, consisting of four ships of war, and mounting ninety-four guns, appeared before New Amsterdam, and on the sixth day of the following month, Stuyvesant was compelled, by the timid and disaffected burghers, whom his tyrannical administration had alienated from the parent country, to surrender it, without firing a gun in its defence. By this act he not only lost his high position as the head of the State, but also incurred severe censure both from the Company which he served, and from the people of Holland, who lamented the loss of so important a colony, and regarded so tame a surrender as disgraceful to the national character. In the course of a month all parts of the colony were brought to submit, and thus were the Dutch authorities expelled, and the English established in the New Netherlands, which henceforward took the name of New York, in honor (if anything could honor him) of James, Duke of York and Albany, who had received a grant of this territory from his brother Charles II., king of Great Britain. Col. Nicholls was at once proclaimed as Lieutenant Governor for the Duke of York, and thus became the first English Governor of the province.

Having already commenced building their church, the Lutheran congregation, almost immediately after he had entered upon the exercise of the functions of his new office, applied to Governor Nicholls for "permission to send to Europe for a pastor of their own persuasion," which was at once granted "by an act under his hand and seal," as the legal documents have it.¹ Where this first Lutheran church in the city of New York stood, cannot now be determined, except that, as appears from a petition addressed to Governor Dongan (in 1684?) it was "on ground without the gate of this city,"² perhaps near the gate, as it was torn down by order of Governor Colve, upon the brief restoration of the power of Holland in New York in 1673-4. The pretext for this seems to have been, that it interfered with the defences of the city. It was only after great

¹ Documentary History of New York, III., 493.

² Ibid. 404, 405.

delay, and with considerable difficulty, that the long harassed church succeeded in obtaining a pastor, who only arrived in the year 1668—ten years after the banishment of pastor Goetwater, and four years after the permission to call a minister from Holland¹ was granted by Governor Nicholls, immediately after the English conquest of 1664. On the 13th of October, 1669, nearly two years after Nicholls had left the province, Lord Lovelace, who had succeeded him in the government, publicly proclaimed that he had received a letter from the Duke of York, expressing his pleasure that the Lutherans should be tolerated. It is worth observing, however, that this toleration was conditioned, not only upon the good behavior of the Lutherans, but also upon the good pleasure of his Royal Highness—"as long as his Royal Highness shall not order otherwise." Is it possible that James, even then, meditated the perfidy which he afterwards perpetrated as king, when he renounced protestantism, and endeavored to establish Romanism in the British empire?

Unfortunately, this long desired and eagerly expected pastor, proved to be utterly unworthy, and unfit for the important post in which he was placed. It may be that the Consistory of Amsterdam was not sufficiently acquainted with the man whom they recommended, as has so often been the case in more modern times, or, as is sometimes the case, new circumstances may have developed a new character. Fabritius was, undoubtedly, a learned man, having the title of "Magister," or Master of Arts from the University in which he had finished his studies; was possessed of extraordinary talent, and regarded as an eloquent preacher, even after he had lost his sight, which happened thirteen years afterwards, whilst he was preaching to the Swedes upon the Delaware, whose language, as well as the Dutch, he had acquired, so as to use it in the pulpit.² But intemperance, that terrible scourge of the christian world, proved his ruin, as it has done that of so many popular ministers in later times. He seems also to have been of an imprudent and violent character, at least in the commencement of his career. Receiving permission to visit Albany, where he was also the first Lutheran preacher, he there

¹ Dunlap's History of New York, I., 484, is undoubtedly mistaken, when he says that the Lutherans "petitioned for liberty to send to Germany for a pastor," as it was not a German, but a Dutch pastor that they desired. He also represents Fabritius as arriving in the "February following" the proclamation mentioned in the text, that is in 1670, instead of 1668—a contradiction of his previous statement on page 126.

² Acerlius Beskrifning, 199.

became involved in difficulties, both with his congregation and with the civil authorities. Marriages were, at that time, solemnized by the New York magistrates, upon license from the Governor. This was regarded by Fabritius as altogether unchurchly. One of his members (*Helmer Otten*) having married his wife (*Adriana Arentz*) in this way, the indignant pastor proceeded to impose upon him a fine of *a thousand rix dollars*.¹ The magistrates complaining to the Governor, he suspended Fabritius from his functions in Albany, though still allowing him to preach in New York.²

In New York also, he was soon involved in similar difficulties with his congregation. Even before the arrival of Fabritius, measures seem to have been taken for the erection of a church edifice, and this work, of course, received a fresh impulse upon his arrival. The people evidently entered into it with great zeal and energy. But the impudence of Fabritius soon threw everything into confusion, and the people not only declined paying their subscriptions to his salary, but even to the building of the church. Complaint being made to the magistrates, it was, under the date of June 29, 1671, "ordered that the members of the Lutheran church should pay their subscriptions, both to the building of the church, and also to the salary of the pastor, up to the time of their late public disagreement." A short time afterwards, (July 6, 1671) Governor Lovelace appointed Alderman John Lawrence to settle the accounts of Hendrick Williamsen, Bay Croesvelts, and Johannes Freeze, who had petitioned him to that effect, declaring at the same time, that they "wished to have nothing more to do with the pastor Fabritius."³ These appear to have been the first Trustees, or members of the church council of the first Lutheran church of New Amsterdam, though three years later we find a different set of officers presiding over the church, under the title of the "*Elders and Principals of the Augsburg Confession*,"⁴ four of whom are mentioned, namely: *Vrit Wessels, Laverens Andross, Martin Meyers and Caspar Steinmets*. Although we find no records in regard to them, we can readily imagine the difficulties in which this

¹ Dunlap, I., 126-7.

² The decree of the Governor to this effect, is still upon record. It was issued in 1670. See Munsell's *Annals of Albany*, 4, 13, 14.

³ Munsell ubi. supra. 423.

⁴ Documentary History of New York, III., 401. It is curious to observe that half of these names are *German*, which is not the fact as regards the names first mentioned.—"Elders and Principals [of the church] of the Augsburg Confession," is, of course, the full title.

conduct of their unfaithful pastor must have involved the infant church of New York, and it is painful to learn that these most terrible scourges of our church in this country, that is to say, incompetent, self-confident, violent and wayward clergymen, and disorganized and distracted congregations should, at so early a period, have made their appearance in the American church.

Five or six years elapsed before the congregation could deliver itself from a pastor so notoriously unfit for his station, and offensive to the great body of his people; a phenomenon unfortunately but too frequently exhibited in later times. At length, however, Fabritius was removed, and the congregation proceeded to call a new pastor, who arrived in the year 1674, being sent, no doubt, by the Consistory of Amsterdam, though of this we, unfortunately, have no positive evidence.

This second pastor of the church in New York is called by Dunlap¹ *Bernardus Arint*, but in the Documentary History of New York his name is given as *Bernhardus Antonius Arensius*.² He appears to have been a man of a most estimable and amiable character, and officiated in New York and Albany until the close of the century, although of his proceedings during its last twelve years we possess no records. But we know of no other minister officiating in these churches until 1700 or 1702 when Mr. Rudman, one of the Missionaries sent from Sweden to the churches upon the Delaware yielded to their urgent entreaties, and for a short time, acted as their pastor.

Upon his return to his former charge among the Swedes, pastor Rudman procured for the Dutch churches in New York and Albany the services of Justus Falkner, whom they, about the same time ordained to the work of the ministry. It is greatly regretted that we have not a full account of the life and ministry of this pastor in whose person so many points of interest to the church in this country are combined. He was at the same time, the first Lutheran minister ordained in this country, and the first who organized and officiated as a German pastor. Falkner had, like another Jonah, fled across the sea to this country (Pennsylvania) in order to escape the importunities of his parents and friends who desired him, at the close of his University course, to devote himself to the work of the ministry. But whilst he thought that he was thus escaping from

¹ History of New York, I., 127.

² The writing "Ariases" found in the "Documentary History III," is undoubtedly, an error either of the press or of the translator, and the "Bernhardus Anthony" who signs his name as a minister ("V. D. M.") to a petition, on pp. 871, 872, of the same Vol., can be no other than the same personage.

the scene of ministerial duty he here found the field which the Lord had prepared for him among his own countrymen who seem about this time (1700) to have commenced emigrating in considerable numbers to Pennsylvania. Awakened by the preaching of pastor Rudman he united with his congregation and became impressed with the conviction that it was his duty to devote himself to the work of the ministry. He was accordingly, in 1703, ordained to the sacred office in Wicaco (the old Swedes' church) with a special view to the spiritual wants of the German emigrants in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. Gathering a congregation in what is now called "the Swamp church" in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, he labored there until the importunities of the Dutch church in New York prevailed upon him to transfer himself to that field of labor. Here he remained ministering to the congregation from New York to Albany, until the year 1725. Some years before his death he retired to the country, in New Jersey, upon the Raritan, where he also ministered to several congregations, chiefly Germans, though here also, at least in Rockaway, the Dutch language was also employed in the religious services of the Lutheran church.

Congregations of Lutherans were also established among the Dutch colonists in the north eastern part of New Jersey, at Ramapo and Saddle River, in Bergen, Hunterdon and the adjacent counties, where the Dutch language seems to have lingered longest, although it has not been used in the services of the sanctuary for many years past.

There was likewise a congregation of Dutch Lutherans at Athens (then called Loonenburg) in New York, to which pastor Berkenmeyer, the successor of pastor Falkner in New York, ministered in 1732 and subsequently, after having resigned his charge in the city of New York.¹

In the city of New York the Lutheran congregation (under the pastoral care of Berkenmeyer 1725-32, Hartwick 1748, Knoll 1751,) continued to employ the Dutch language exclusively until themiddle of the century (1750) when the Germans, becoming more numerous from year to year, petitioned for preaching in their own language. This proposition occasioned very great difficulty, and was one of the causes which induced the venerable H. M. MUEHLENBERG, the apostle of Lutheranism among the Germans in Pennsylvania, to visit New York and labor in that place for a considerable part of the years 1751

¹ See the Church records of the Loonenburg congregation in the library of the Historical Society at Gettysburg Pa., only the first few pages of which are written in the Dutch language.

and 1752. He, however, preached in Dutch as well as in German, and occasionally performed divine service in French and English also. By his efforts peace was, in a great measure restored, and, following his example, his successor, the Rev. John A. Weygandt, who resigned his charge in 1767, employed both the Dutch and German in his public ministrations.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, then the Dutch language ceased to be employed in the Lutheran churches of New York and New Jersey, though it was spoken long after this in the social intercourse of the village and of the farm. In some places it was supplanted by the English, in others by the German, but more generally by the former. And this is doubtless one reason why the English language was introduced so much more extensively, and so much earlier in New York than in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and other regions settled by Lutherans of German descent. The Dutch population being much less numerous sooner lost its own language and accepted the prevalent tongue of the country, even where the descendants of the Hollanders united with our German churches they seem to have employed the English language as the medium of their social intercourse in the family. So Dr. Kunze intimates in his preface to the Sermons of that most amiable and interesting young man Lawrence Van Buskirk, who so speedily ran his brief but bright career of Christian labor in the gospel ministry: "Mr. Van Buskirk's parents not being of German but of Low Dutch extraction, had never been used to make the German the vehicle of their domestic conversation, and my young friend was, therefore, sent to English school alone."¹ Accordingly, efforts were made at a very early period to introduce the English into the ministrations of the sanctuary in New York, and this was accomplished at an early period with but little difficulty in the adjacent parts of New Jersey. And here the Lutheran church has sustained itself with comparatively little loss even among a population where the English language was predominant. That equally happy results did not follow similar movements in the city of New York is to be attributed to various unfortunate and conflicting circumstances.

But, singular as it may seem, the Dutch churches of New York and New Jersey, thus appear to have prepared the way

¹ "Six sermons preached by the late Lawrence V. Buskirk, B. A., New York 1797—one of the first specimens of English authorship in the Lutheran church in America, and giving promise of no ordinary excellence in the author had he been spared to mature age.

alike for our German and for our English Lutheran churches. The first Germans who settled in New York, many of them coming from the parts of Germany bordering upon Holland,¹ either understood or readily acquired the Dutch language, and thus naturally united with the Dutch church. So too by the time the Germans had grown so numerous as to demand preaching in their own language, the children of the Dutch had become anglicised and desired religious instructions in the language which was now their native or their adopted tongue. Thus did the Dutch perform most important service to the whole body of our American Lutheran churches. It is true that the numerical force thus added to the church was not very great, nor do we see much evidence of its intellectual activity or spiritual life, but it was no small service to act as a living and enduring cement to bring together some of the severed materials of the church which have since grown up into the solid edifice of our living temple. All our older churches along the Hudson and the Mohawk and in the eastern part of New Jersey were undoubtedly greatly strengthened by accessions from the early Dutch settlers even when not originally established by them.

It was to the early Dutch church also that the Lutheran church owed its legal existence and the favor with which it was treated under the British colonial government. It is a well established, if not a well known fact, that the British government, instigated by their traditional policy, as well as by the arbitrary principles of various administrations, and not without the occasional convenience of some ambitious spirits, among the Episcopal clergy of the colonies,² was bent upon establishing Episcopacy, or the church of England, or the dominant ecclesiastical power in the American colonies. In Virginia this was fully effected, and considerable progress was made in the same direction in Maryland, where the "parishes" were regularly laid out, and "tithes" collected by law from those who were called "Dissenters" as well as from professed members of the establishment called "the church of England." Even in New England the boldest and most violent attempts were made to gain a foothold for this communion. But in New York this project was pushed with still greater determination, and more sanguine hopes of success. Not only did the Home Government send out chieftains and encourage the settlement of Episcopal ministers in all parts of the province of New York, but it steadily refused to grant charters securing

¹ Hazelius' History of American Lutheran Church.

² See the correspondence of the Episcopal clergy with Sir Wm. Johnston and others in the "Document. History of New York."

the property and acknowledging the permanent existence of the Presbyterian and other religious bodies.¹ The treaty of cession by which the colony of New Netherlands was transposed to the English, in its eighth article, provided that "The Dutch here should enjoy liberty of conscience in divine worship and church discipline."² Under this the Dutch Lutherans, as well as the Reformed Dutch, obtained the free exercise of their religion. To this the right of the latter was never questioned, and that of the Lutherans was at first tacitly admitted, and even publicly acknowledged in the proclamation of Governor Nichols, when he permitted their minister, Fabritius, to enter upon the discharge of his official duties. When their charter was subsequently withheld from them, even the officers of the crown admitted that their claim was an equitable one.³ This did not, indeed, secure the Lutherans from the insidious attempts of Episcopalians, either to draw them into their communion, or to deprive them of their property, as we shall hereafter see in the history of the German church, but it, at least, protected them from many annoyances to which other denominations were exposed.

In a word, the Dutch were the pioneers of the Lutheran church in New York and New Jersey, prepared the ground for it, firmly maintained their position against all the fury of a bigoted and violent persecution, resisted the insidious attempts of the British authorities to deprive them of their dearly purchased right to legal existence, and served as the connecting link between the German and English population, by whom they were succeeded in the duty and privilege of upholding their faith, and transmitting it to their posterity and other successors in the church. For this they deserve to be held in grateful remembrance, and to be counted with that "communion of saints" which embraces not only those who have been faithful members of any particular church, in any special religion, or in any peculiar period of the world's history, but all who have, at any time, however humbly, labored for the advancement of that kingdom which its Great Author has established for the common benefit of mankind.

¹ See the Documentary History of New York, Vol. III.

² O'Callaghan's History of New Netherlands, II., 533.

³ Documentary History of New York, III.

ARTICLE II.

Sancti Bernardi, Abbatis Clariæ—Vallensis Opera Omnia.
Post Horstium denuo recognita, repurgata, et in meliorem
digesta ordinem, necnon novis prefationibus, admonitioni-
bus, notis, &c., &c., locupletata et illustrata, Curis D. Jo-
annis Mabillon. Presbyteri et Monachi Benedictini e
Congregatione S. Mauri. Parisiis apud Gaume Fratres.
4 Vols. 8vo.—1839.

By H. W. Thorpe, A. M., Winchester, Va.

ON every hand we hear the cry, the wants of the church ! This is a subject of deliberation in every Synod, every Bishop's charge throughout the protestant world enlarges upon it, and we have just seen a special prayer, drawn up by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the instance of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, supplicating Almighty God to send forth laborers into his harvest. We are far from supposing that all this indicates greater destitution than existed before the cry was raised ; we rather look upon it as a hopeful sign and evidence that the church is awakening from her lethargy, becoming sensible of her need, and making efforts to supply it.

It is granted, on all hands, that a great increase of the ministry, in some form or other is desirable. How this increase may best be obtained, is still an open question, and one by no means easy of solution. Shall it be done by offering larger salaries, so that young men, seeing an assured hope of competency, at least, may turn aside from the more lucrative professions ? Increased remuneration, competence for ministers is a thing much to be desired. As society is constituted in this country, we have no right to expect that many young men will be found willing, for the love of God, to embrace a life of comparative penury and privation, accompanied by all the contumely the poor gentleman is exposed to, and the prospective destitution of their families, should carking cares and incessant labors wear them out before their children shall have arrived at maturity. But who will tell us whence this increase shall flow ? For we must bear in mind that we have not merely to raise the incomes of the present ministry, but to add to its numbers to an indefinite extent ; that the stream of supply must not only be deepened in its channel, but made to spread very far beyond its present banks. This would be all well, and if to do were to know what 'twere good to do, the

problem would be solved ; but until we can be told whence the supply shall come, the real difficulty remains untouched ; and we confess that, with undiminished faith in the promise of the Savior to be with his church always, till the end of the world, we see little hope of a speedy increase of means in any degree proportioned to the urgency of the requirement.

If this is a just conclusion, we may be well assured that some other way may be found, if we search for it aright ; and we have been recently led, by the perusal of the life and works of St. Bernard, to consider whether the church has not already at her command the *matériel* of an unpaid ministry, not to take the place of the existing ministry, but to act in subordination to it, and immensely increase its present force. We are convinced that in every community may be found earnest minded men, sincerely anxious to advance the Redeemer's Kingdom, who would gladly devote a portion of their time and energies to this great work of the church, by an extension of the Diaconate, or some similar arrangement, would clothe them with a quasi clerical character, that they might act and speak with authority and weight, and yet not render it obligatory on them to withdraw from their several avocations. We should thus have a sort of militia which, under due restriction, properly directed, might vastly strengthen the hands of the church, and carry its influence into channels that are closed to the regular ministry.

Nor would this be quite a novel experiment, a course altogether without precedent. The rapid growth of the Methodist church, in its early years is, in a great measure, attributable to its local preachers and class-leaders ; and the church of Rome has always had, in the various monastic orders, a large body of men ready to do the church's work without fee or reward. Of this, the life of St. Bernard affords abundant illustration. Was it proposed to plant the church in some new region ? At once the standard was upraised, the site for buildings was cleared, lands cultivated, and in a very short time the wilderness was converted into the garden of the Lord. We shall not be understood to advocate the employment among us, of either of these two systems, as a whole ; but we think their success was sufficient to render it proper for us to consider whether some plan, involving the principle of extensive lay coöperation, may not be devised to meet the immediate and pressing wants of the church. At present the laity are merely called upon to contribute of their wealth. Let those who possess it still give of their abundance ; but when our ancestors erected their churches in the wilderness, it was often found

that those who had no money, could do good service with the labor of their hands.

Monastic Institutions, in some form or other, seem peculiarly adapted to certain states of society, and certain phases of human character. They are assuredly of very ancient date, having existed before the christian era. In Judea, even in our Savior's time, the Essenes, a class of Cœnobites, were numerous. Their remarkable customs may be learned from Josephus and Philo. They were spread over all the country, but their head-quarters were in Galilee, and attempts have been made to show that John the Baptist, and our blessed Savior himself, had been associated with them. In Egypt also, we find similar recluses, the Therapeutaæ and others, and in the earliest years of the church, we read of christians thus retiring from the world, but without, as it appears, any definite organization; and no farther advancing the march of the church, than by being living examples of continence and temperance in a wicked and adulterous generation; till in the fourth century they were formed by Anthony into a regular society, with prescribed rules of conduct.

It was at the beginning of the sixth century, that St. Benedict promulgated his celebrated rule, which soon became the almost universal law in the monasteries of Europe. Benedict was a native of Norcia; at the age of sixteen he buried himself in a deep and lonely cavern, amid the mountains of Subiaco, where he passed three years, unknown to any one except his spiritual director, a monk of a neighboring convent. When at length his retreat was miraculously discovered, emulous ascetics crowded around him, till his desert was inhabited by twelve fraternities of monks, who all acknowledged him as their patron and legislator. He afterwards retired to the summit of Mount Cassino, in the country of the Volsci. Here his cell was visited by the most distinguished persons, the nobles of Rome entrusted to him the education of their children, and Totila, even, is said to have sought his counsel, and trembled at his reproof.

Monks were to obey implicitly the orders of their superiors. The whole possessions were common property, no one having anything of his own. Seven hours each day were devoted to manual labor, two to study, six to sleep. Seven times in the day, at lauds, prime, tierce, sexts, nones, vespers and complines, all were required to attend the worship of the church, and the small remainder of the time was employed in the refection of the body; the menial offices were discharged by all in turn, it being strictly ordered that every hour should be employed.

From twelve to eighteen ounces of bread, with vegetables, and a hemina of wine, (a little more than a pint) was the daily allowance. Flesh was prohibited except to the aged, the infirm and children. It was the excellent rule, "That every one should be constantly employed," St. Benedict particularly declaring that "Idleness is injurious to the mind," which caused such rapid improvement wherever a Benedictine monastery was established; and in somewhat later times, by a liberal interpretation of the rule, a portion of the brotherhood, especially those of the congregation of St. Maur, laboured assiduously in the Scriptorium, carefully transcribing ancient manuscripts, secular as well as religious, or painfully compiling those vast repositories of learning which excite the terror or admiration of the modern student; and to the skill and industry of the monks is due the erection of the huge and elaborately wrought churches, minsters and cathedrals, which are dotted all over Europe, works inspired by the love of God, and, as under the all-seeing eye, as carefully finished, as richly ornamented, in the parts entirely hidden from mortal vision, as in the most prominent façades.

But nothing human can long continue without change; we are therefore, not surprised to find alternations of laxity and strictness in the discipline of the monasteries; at one time the rule of St. Benedict almost forgotten till at length some conscientious Abbot resolved to restore the ancient discipline. Thus in the beginning of the 10th century Odo, second Abbot of Clugni, determines to oblige his monks to a strict observance of their rule, and his zealous efforts effected a reform over a large part of Europe. In less than two centuries again the Clugniac monasteries had become as degenerate as the other Benedictines, and in 1098 Robert Abbot of Molesme in Burgundy, after vainly striving to rekindle the flame of devotion in his own community, withdrew with twenty-one companions to a desert place called Citeaux, in the diocese of Châlons, and here founded the first congregation of Cistercians. Among these twenty-one, the names of Alberic, Odo, John, Stephen, Letald and Peter are especially recorded. Resolving to observe to the letter the rule of St. Benedict, they commenced their work on Palm Sunday, the day on which the festival of St. Benedict fell that year. Robert in 1099 returned to the government of Abbey of Molesme, leaving Alberic, the Prior to succeed him at Citeaux. The year after, 1100, the Cistercian order was regularly instituted with peculiar privileges by Paschal II.; the instrument which is still extant, being dated at Troia in Naples. Abbot Alberic died in 1109,

ten years after his accession, and was succeeded by Stephen Hardinge, an Englishman of noble birth, another of the original twenty-one, who also had held previously the office of Prior; and it was during his administration, when the order seemed to be languishing, and the Abbot was desponding over the paucity of his members, that St. Bernard, now twenty-three years old, with thirty companions, among whom were five of his brothers, sought admission, and by his earnestness and influence so much life was inspired that within a very few years four other Cistercian Abbeys, in the language of the time, daughters of Citeaux, were established. Firmitas in the diocese of Châlons sur Saône, Pontiniacum, a short distance from Auxerre, Clara vallis or Clairvaux and Morimundus both in the diocese of Langres. Of the third of these, Clairvaux, St. Bernard was appointed Abbot. St. Bernard, born in 1091, was the third son of Tescelin Sorus proprietor of Fontaines, and Aleth daughter of Bernard proprietor of Mont Bar, both in Burgundy, in the modern department of Côte d'Or. Both parents, especially, the mother, were sincerely religious. Of Tescelin, who was a soldier, it is recorded that he served his temporal master without forgetting his God, obedient to the precepts of the Baptist "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages;" and of Aleth that, taught by St. Paul, she submitted to her husband as to the Lord, ruled her household in the fear of God, and from their earliest days dedicated her children with her own hands to the Lord. Her six sons became monks, her only daughter a nun. While infants she nourished them from her own breasts, and as they grew she did not pamper them with delicacies but, accustoming them in childhood to coarse and ordinary food, prepared them for the ascetic life of the convent.

A short time before the birth of Bernard, his mother was terrified by a dream that she had given birth to a red and white dog, which barked furiously; but she was comforted by the interpretation of her Confessor, that the child who should be born of her would be a zealous champion for the faith, and bark vigorously against its enemies. Influenced by this dream and its interpretation, she sent Bernard, at an early age, to be taught at the neighboring church of Chatillon, and did all that in her lay, to ensure his profiting from the instructions of his masters. Of gentle disposition, and good natural parts, he filled up the measure of his fond mother's desires, far surpassing all others of his age in his progress at school; and in his deportment, the boy already foreshadowed the future man. He was wonderfully thoughtful and retiring, obedient to his pa-

rents and teachers, kind and obliging to all about him, devout, talking little, earnest in his studies, chiefly that he might be better enabled to understand the Holy Scriptures.

As he grew up, endowed with extraordinary beauty, pleasing manners, a quick intellect and ready eloquence, he was exposed to many temptations. He saw the world and the prince of this world offering him great success, and greater hopes, all deceitful and vanity of vanities; but within him he constantly heard the voice of Him who is truth itself, calling to him, "come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, and ye shall find rest unto your souls."

Meditating retirement from the world, the new order of Cistercians powerfully attracted him, seeing the harvest great, and the laborers few; it had yet found little favor, most men being deterred by the austerity of the life. For him this austerity had no terrors, and he began to direct his views to this end, judging that he might there, in obscurity, give himself up to heavenly contemplation.

His mother, Aleth, was not spared to see this day. Eight years before, she had been called to her rest and her reward; and her death was well calculated to deepen the religious impressions of her beloved son. She is said to have died in the year 1105, on the anniversary of St. Ambrose, on which day she had been accustomed annually to entertain all the neighboring clergy at her house. Gathered now about her dying bed, they sang the psalms of David, in which she joined as long as she could speak; and after her voice had ceased, her lips were seen to move. At the solemn supplication in the litany for the dying, "By thy passion and thy cross, good Lord deliver her," she raised her hand to sign herself with the token of redemption, and in that act she died, not having time to replace her hand.

Bernard's determination met with strong opposition from his brothers and friends, who sought to withdraw him from his purpose, by directing his attention to science and literature, but the memory of his mother rendered all their efforts useless, for he knew she had so tenderly nurtured him with this especial view; and at length, when on a journey to his brothers, who were with the army of the Duke of Burgundy, then engaged in the siege of Grancey, this thought so heavily oppressed him, that he turned aside from the road, entered a church, and with floods of tears, stretching forth his hands towards heaven, and pouring forth his heart like water, in the sight of the Lord his

God, he made his silent vow, and never afterwards swerved from it.

And with no dull ear he listened to the words, "Let him that heareth say, come." Like as the fire that burneth up the wood, and the flame that consumeth the mountains, so the fire sent by God into the heart of his servant, spread till it caught thirty of his kinsmen and friends ; his uncle first, then his brothers, one after another, the youngest only being left for the comfort of their father, while he spoke to them of the fleeting joys of the world, the miseries of this life, the swift approach of death, and after death a never-ending existence, either in happiness or misery. The converts dwelt together in a house at Châlons, and whoever came in to them, seeing what things were done among them, as the Apostle says of the Corinthians, "he was convinced of all, he was judged of all, he worshipped God, and confessed that God was in them of a truth ;" and either became of one mind with them, or departing shed tears for himself, counting them happy which endured. When the long desired day of the Novitiate arrived, Bernard led forth from their father's house his brothers as his spiritual sons. Guido, the eldest, observing his youngest brother in the street with other boys, said to him, "Brother Nivardus, to you alone we leave our whole earthly possessions ;" the boy replied, "Heaven to you, to me the earth, the division is not equal," and after a short time, resolving to follow his brothers, neither his father nor friends could detain him, so that of that devoted house remained only the daughter and the aged father, and, in the end, these also embraced the religious life. St. Bernard, at the age of twenty three, entered, as we said before, the Cistercian abbey at Citeaux, and formally took upon himself the easy yoke of Christ, while Stephen Hardinge was Abbot, in the year of incarnation 1113, fifteen years after the foundation of the house. From that day the Lord gave his blessing, and the vine of the Lord of Hosts sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river. He entered the poor and almost unknown house, hoping to be dead to the hearts and memories of men ; but God had otherwise ordered, and was preparing him, as a chosen vessel, to carry his name before kings and people, even to the ends of the earth.

When it pleased him who had separated him from the world and called him, that he should gather together in one, the children of God that were scattered abroad, He put it into the heart of Abbot Stephen to send forth brethren to found the house of Clairvaux, and to make Bernard their Abbot. Clairvaux (Clara Vallis), was a desert place near the river Aube, in

the diocese of Langres, given by Hugh, Count of Troyes. Formerly the abode of robbers, it had borne the name of Valley of Wormwood, either from the abundance of that plant growing there, or from the bitter grief of those who, in that place, fell among thieves. These men of virtue took up their abode in the desert, to convert this den of thieves into the temple of God, the house of prayer. Here they served God in poverty of spirit, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness, in many watchings. They often prepared pottage of the leaves of the beech tree, and their bread, like the prophet's, was of barley and millet and fitches; so that once, a certain good monk, sharing their hospitality, secretly carried off a piece of it, that with many tears, he might show to all on what such men were living. Many interesting particulars are recorded of the early history of the new convent, illustrating St. Bernard's faith in God in the midst of difficulties, and his zeal for the conversion of men, on which it would be pleasant to dwell; but, admonished by the growing length of this article, we must pass over most of them. Those who desire to see them, are referred to the several lives of St. Bernard, printed with his works, from which, indeed, we are doing little more than translating.

Soon after the foundation, St. Bernard's father, who by the marriage of his daughter, was now left alone, joined his sons, and being received into the monastery, died there at a good old age. His sister also, who was living in the pleasures of the world, desiring one day to visit her brother, the Abbot, came with a splendid retinue and equipage. Offended at this parade, he refused to go forth to see her, as did all her brothers but Andrew, who chanced to be at the gate when she arrived; and he sharply rebuked her, calling her vile dirt wrapped in fine coverings. Bursting into tears, she replied, "If I am a sinner, for such Christ died. For the very reason that I am a sinner, I need the counsel and converse of the good; and if my brother despises my outward body, let not the servant of God despise my soul. Let him come, let him command me, I am ready to do whatsoever he orders." On this, St. Bernard went out to see her. He could not separate her from her husband, but he forbade all luxury in dress, and all the pomps and vanity of the world, prescribing to her the manner of life of Aleth, their mother, and so dismissed her. She returned to her home a changed woman. She strictly obeyed the injunctions of her brother, so that all were astonished to see her in the midst of the world, leading the life of a nun; and two years afterwards, with her husband's consent, she entered the

nunnery of Juilly, and devoted the residue of her life to the worship of God. Clairvaux, as has been said, was in the diocese of Langres, and by its Bishop, St. Bernard should have been ordained; but this see happening to be vacant, recourse was had to the Bishop of Châlons sur Marne, the celebrated William of Champeaux, by whom the ceremony was performed, and from this time a life-long friendship sprang up between the two men. At this period, St. Bernard is described as of emaciated frame, like a dying man, and very meanly dressed; but the Bishop, beneath this unpromising exterior, discovered the devoted servant of God: the modesty and wisdom of his conversation charmed all his hearers, and the attendants of the Bishop, who had at first been inclined to sneer at the young Abbot, began to reverence him almost as an angel from heaven.

At the first establishment of the New monastery, the austerities practised were extreme. The bread which the hard labor of the brethren extorted from the barren soil, is described as earthy in its taste, and the whole food void of any agreeable flavor; all pleasurable taste was shunned as poison. St. Bernard himself, more than shared these austerities. You would see, says one of his contemporaries, a weak, and apparently fainting man, trying to do whatever his will dictated, without regard to his bodily powers. Careful for others, negligent of himself, accounting what he had already accomplished as nothing, he still strove for greater perfection, macerating his body with continual watchings and fastings, that he might grow, thereby, in spiritual strength. He prayed standing, day and night, till his weakened knees and swollen feet refused to perform their functions. For a long time he secretly wore hair-cloth next his skin, but at length it was discovered, and he laid it aside. His food was a little bread with milk, or water in which a few vegetables had been boiled, or such pottage as is given to infants. His weakened stomach rejected all stronger food. Wine he scarcely ever touched, declaring that water suited best both his weakness and his taste. Yet he insisted on sharing the labors of the brethren, by night as well as day. Physicians saw him with astonishment, and expostulated with him, proclaiming that it was as if one should yoke a lamb to the plough.

After some time, when his infirmities were increased, and nothing but death, or a life worse than death, was anticipated for him, he received a visit from his friend, the Bishop of Châlons, who exhorted him to change his mode of life, promising him, if he would follow his advice, the restoration of his health. Finding him little disposed to yield, the Bishop convened a

Chapter of Cisterians, and laying the case before the assembled Abbots, he begged as a favor, that Bernard should be directed to obey him for the space of a year, and his request was granted.

The Bishop caused a little hut to be erected for him outside of the monastery, like those set up for lepers in the crossways. Forbidding him to regard the monastic rules, either as to his food or drink, he released him from all care of the household. Here the young Abbot passed the year, freed from solicitude, with nothing to think of but God and his own soul, exulting as if in the joys of Paradise ; occasionally, waking as well as asleep, seeming to himself to hear the songs of the angelic choirs : but at the end of the allotted period, when the restraint was removed, he returned to his former manner of life. This was the golden age of Clairvaux, when good men, formerly rich and honored in the world, Henry, the brother of Louis VII., the king of France, was among them, there glorying in the poverty of Christ, were planting his church in their own blood. It was manifest to all who entered the valley, that God was in that place. While every one was laboring in his appointed task, even at mid-day was the silence of mid-night : no sound but of the work, was heard, except when the brethren were singing the praises of God. And such was the influence of this solemn silence on strangers who came thither, that they reverently refrained, not only from wicked or idle conversation, but from saying anything that was not strictly necessary for the business that brought them.

Many surprising anecdotes of St. Bernard's abstraction from things outward, are related. He was often entirely unconscious of what was passing around him, and of what he ate or drank. The power of mental abstraction is possessed, in a greater or less degree, by every abstruse thinker, but in St. Bernard it was in excess, and continued so through his life. The loveliest scenes passed unnoticed before his eyes. Having been, on one occasion, travelling the whole day on the shores of the Lake of Geneva, when, in the evening, he heard his companions expatiating on its manifold beauties, he astonished them by enquiring where it was to be seen. On this incident Gibbon characteristically remarks : "To admire or despise St. Bernard as he ought, the reader, like myself, should have before the windows of his library, the beauties of that incomparable landscape."

In the twelfth century, such strictness and sanctity would naturally be expected to give the power of working miracles, and many are the miracles attributed to St. Bernard. They

are of the most varied character, and far more numerous than are recorded of any of the apostles. Wherever he went his reputation preceded him; the diseased and disabled were brought in crowds to be healed, and the vilest of demons were ejected by his prayers.

While in this nineteenth century it is impossible for us to give credence to those astonishing narratives, and while, to quote Gibbon again "in the preternatural cures of the blind, the lame, and the sick who were presented to the man of God, it is impossible for us to ascertain the separate shares of accident, of fancy, of imposture and of fiction," we are persuaded that no attentive reader of the life of St. Bernard, and still more, no attentive student of the writings he has left us, will be content with the solution that they are all imposture on the one part and credulity on the other.

His uncle and his brothers, at first, bitterly reproached him for his presumption; and he bore their reproofs with the utmost meekness. He more than once said himself "I greatly wonder what these miracles mean, and why it has pleased God to do such things by so unworthy an instrument. I find nothing corresponding to them in the Sacred Scriptures. Miracles have been wrought by wholly and perfect men, and some have also been wrought by impostors. I know that I have no claim to the merits of the saints which were illustrated by miracles, but I also trust I am not of those who, doing many wonderful works in the name of the Lord, will be told by the Lord, I never knew you." And the conclusion with respect to them on which he seems at last to have settled we have in the following passage. "I know that works of this kind respect not the sanctity of one but the salvation of many, and that God considers not so much the perfectness of the man by whom they are wrought as what others think of him; that in him God may commend to men the virtue they believe him to possess. For these things are not done for their sakes who do them, but rather for those who see and hear of them. Nor does the Lord make certain men his instruments that he may prove them to be holier than others, but that he may make others greater lovers of holiness. These miracles therefore are nothing to me since they are in accordance with my fame and not my true life. They are not wrought in commendation of me but rather for the admonition of others." Whoever shall diligently ponder these words, concludes the biographer, will judge it more beneficial for himself to emulate these pious sen-

timents of St. Bernard than to wonder at his miracles ; to study his religious character rather than his wonderful works.

But we must hasten on to those great public events which formed the turning point in St. Bernards life, by forcibly withdrawing him for a long season from the scene of his austerities. Compelled to be constantly travelling from place to place and mingling in the great world, the health which his self-imposed severities had all but destroyed, was in a measure restored, and he was thereby drawn back from the very brink of the grave.

Pope Honorius II. died in the year 1130. There was at that time at Rome a certain Peter, grandson of a Jewish convent of eminence who had been baptized by Leo IX, as was customary, by his own name Leo. He appears to have been a man of probity and ability, a faithful servant of the Roman Court. Among other offices he was entrusted with the command of the Tower of Crescentius, subsequently named St. Angelo. Much beloved by the Pope he rapidly increased both in wealth and honor. This grandson Peter Leonis, as he is called, having completed his studies at Paris, on the eve of his return home had assumed the monastic habit at Clugni, and being, at his fathers instance, summoned to court by Paschal II. was raised to the Cardinalate by Callistus II. and sent in company with Gregory, afterwards his competitor for the triple crown, as Legate into Gaul, where he was present at several provincial councils. St. Bernard addressed more than one letter to a Legate named Peter whom some have supposed to be the same individual ; but there were at this time several dignitaries in the church of the same name, and as the letters are addressed to a Cardinal Deacon, when our Peter is known to have been Cardinal Presbyter, it is most likely they were different persons. However this may be, Peter Leonis aspired to the Papal throne and his wealth and influential connexions procured him the support of many at Rome especially among the nobility. As soon as the death of Honorius was certain, a number of the Cardinals, with Haimeric, the chancellor, at their head resolved to anticipate the designs of Peter; but dreading a tumult if they should assemble, as usual, in St. Mark's they held a council apart and before the death of the Pope was publicly known, elected and consecrated Gregory, Cardinal of St. Angelo, a man of learning and irreproachable morals as his successor under the name of Innocent II. The Leonine party, protesting against this rather questionable proceeding, afterwards elected Peter who took the name of Anacletus, and hence arose a schism which disturbed the church for nearly ten years.

In a schism each party is always ready to brand its opponents with the blackest crimes. The adherents of Peter are charged with replenishing their treasury by the robbery of the churches; and, when Christians refused to shatter sacramental chalices or to break the limbs of the crucifix, with employing Jews for the sacrilegious work. As Anacletus, however, was all powerful at Rome, Innocent was compelled to withdraw, and secretly taking ship he escaped, as his followers said, from the mouth of the *Lion* and the claws of the beast, and took refuge at Pisa. Here the Holy Father was received with the greatest enthusiasm. Messengers had already been dispatched into France to exhort the Gallic church to remain faithful to its duty. King Louis immediately summoned a council of Bishops and others at Estampes, and St. Bernard's reputation was now so great that his attendance was especially sought. He went, as he says, with fear and trembling, but on his journey was comforted by a vision of the whole smited church harmonious by singing the praises of God. At this council it was resolved, chiefly by the influence of St. Bernard, that Innocent was rightful Pope: all promised obedient to him and he was invited into France.

St. Bernard now entered heartily into the cause of Innocent, and, mainly by his influence and persuasion, Henry I. of England was brought to favor the same cause contrary to the advice of the English Bishops who were with him. Finding the King yet hesitating, "what do you fear?" he exclaimed. "Do you fear to commit a sin in obeying Innocent? Study what you will answer to God for your other sins, and leave this one to me. This sin I will take on my own head."

The Emperor was in like manner bought over; and when he wished to take advantage of the necessitous condition of the Pope to recover the long disputed Investitures, the vigorous reclamation of St. Bernard drove him from his purpose. The most active supporter of Anacletus was Gerard of Angouleme. At first he had espoused the cause of Innocent, but being refused the office of Legate, he went over to his rival who readily granted him the coveted honour; when he who had just been styled by him the Holy Father Innocent, became on a sudden Gregory the Deacon. This tergiversation naturally exposed him to animadversion, and the epistle which St. Bernard, on this occasion, addressed to the Bishops of Aquitaine is one of the most scathing he ever wrote.

Innocent, in accordance with the very natural desire of the people to see the Holy Father, passed through all the principal cities of France, accompanied everywhere by St. Bernard;

and on his return from Liege where he had been met by the Emperor, at his express wish he was conducted to Clairvaux. Here he was received by the poor of Christ, not clad in purple and fine linen, not with gilded copies of the gospel, but in tattered garments : not with the clangor of trumpets and the noise of shouting but with the low restrained voice of reverent affection. Tears were in all eyes as they looked upon the grave assembly. Even in such a moment of joy every eye was turned to the ground, no marks of wandering curiosity ; they saw no one, themselves were seen of all. The Roman strangers found nothing to covet in their church, no costly ornaments to draw their regards, nothing but bare walls in the house of prayer, nothing they could desire for themselves but equal zeal. The festival was kept not by feasting but by piety : the hospitality of the monks could offer to their guests nothing better than brown bread and garden herbs. This schism brought St. Bernard into correspondence with all the chief men of the time. Vigorously did he labor to effect the restoration of Innocent to the holy city, and it is a picture of the highest interest to observe the ascetic monk with his attenuated frame, moving about among crowned potentates and mailed warriors, every where received as the messenger of God and the interpreter of His will ; the weight of the church seeming to rest on those weak shoulders. To the Abbot himself this compulsory withdrawal from the quietude of his retreat was in every way beneficial. Not only, as was before intimated, was his life hereby prolonged and his health in a measure restored, but his earnest advocacy of his cherished wish gave a profitable variety to his intellectual employments ; and wherever he became personally known he conciliated many friends to himself, and powerful supporters to his young institution. At length after eight years Anacletus died. His partisans elected a successor named Victor, that they might the better by his means bring about a reconciliation with Innocent. Victor lost no time in visiting St. Bernard by night, and the servant of God soon had the satisfaction of conducting him to the feet of the true Pope and so healing the wounds of the bleeding church.

St. Barnard was now able to return to his chosen home, and his return was like a triumph. As he crossed the Alps, the mountaineers from all quarters gathered about him to seek his blessing, and went back to their homes rejoicing that they had been permitted to see his face. From Besançon he was conducted in solemn procession to Langres where the brethren of

Clairvaux met him. All rose from their knees to embrace him, and with great but subdued rejoicing led him to Clairvaux. Their delight was revealed in their countenances, but they were careful that no noisy demonstrations should indicate to their beloved Abbot a relaxation of their discipline. He found them all living in the most delightful harmony. No complaints of harshness on one side, or insubordination on the other, marred the pleasure of the long desired meeting. St. Bernard had the happiness to find love and peace pervading the society, and that all were walking together along the path of holiness towards the Kingdom of heaven.

The increased numbers of the brethren had rendered the original establishment too small for their accommodation, and, after consultation and many prayers, it was determined to remove to a wider part of the valley. As soon as this determination became publicly known the most liberal donations began to flow in. Count Theobald, the neighbouring Bishops, Merchants and Princes eagerly contributed: the brethren earnestly joined in the labour each according to his knowledge and skill, so the monastery and its enclosing wall rapidly advanced.

ARTICLE III.

THE HEROES OF THE PROTESTANT (LUTHERAN) CHURCH OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, &c., &c.

By Rev. J. Oswald, A. M., York, Pa.

IT has been somewhere said, First, that the 31st of October 1517, was the birthday of the Lutheran church, when Luther, in consequence of the scandalous traffic in indulgencies, by John Tetzel, agent of the refined and civilized pagan, Leo X., affixed his celebrated ninety-five theses upon the castle-church door at Wittemberg.¹ Secondly, That the day of her baptism, was the 17th of April, 1521, when Luther, summoned before the diet at Worms, and called upon to retract his teachings, refused, declaring that he could do no otherwise than he did, *so help him God*. Thirdly, That the day of her confirmation was the 25th of June, 1530, when the Lutherans, or

¹ By this, however, we are not to understand that her doctrines have this date, for they are as old as the Bible; nor yet that protestantism then first took its rise, for that was coeval with ecclesiastical corruption.

protestants, at the diet at Augsburg, presented their confession, in the presence of God—before the emperor, the states, Germany and the world. And finally, That the 26th of September, 1555, was the day of her majority, when a religious war, in which the protestants suffered much, was terminated ; peace concluded at Augsburg, and christians secured their liberties, and obtained quiet and rest.

Hungary and Poland have been regarded as the breakwater in the days of the Moslem's power, up to which the waves of Islamism rose, and swelled, and broke, and receded, and subsided, within their proper limits. And if we consider the warlike and fiery Hun, together with his geographical position, it is not difficult to credit this history ; and when we read the account of Vienna's siege, in 1683, and follow Sobieski's legions—his splendid cavalry, and his ragged infantry, thundering along the Danube, to the rescue, we can easily credit the past services in this behalf, of this chivalrous, but partitioned, misruled and down-trodden nation.

But if these nations were, to some extent at least, the barrier on which the proud waves of Mohammedanism were stayed, the Lutheran church proved herself the rocky shore, the iron bound coast, which the swelling, raging floods of Popery could not pass ; against which, indeed, they dashed with such fierce fury, as to make the continent of Europe tremble, but again rebounded, foaming with rage, it is true, and threatening, but that was all.

If ever hell wept, it was at the dethronement of Paganism, Satan's grand instrument for evil, in the early ages of christianity. If ever hell rejoiced, held jubilee, it was when satan found an ample compensation for his loss, in his *chef-d'oeuvre* viz : Popery, the great Antichristian apostacy. The Reformation jeopardized his work ; threatened his interests, hence Rome, satan's servant and supporter on earth, speedily and earnestly addressed herself to the work of effectually arresting the Reformation's progress. Powerful and unprincipled, her means of annoyance and destruction were terrible ; war, public executions, secret assassinations, poison, the halter and the stake ; so she might only rid herself of her adversaries, no instrumentality was too atrocious, none too mean. In Italy and Spain, she strangled the Reformation by the Inquisition. In France she almost quenched it in blood, i. e., by wholesale murder. In Germany othermeans must be employed, and to effect her purpose, a long and bloody war, of thirty years continuance, ensued in the seventeenth century, viz : from 1618—1648. The adherents of the great Apostacy, and the Pro-

testants in Germany, had long viewed each other with equal jealousy. Nothing but mutual fear, prevented them from breaking out in open hostilities. By the union of the protestant princes, formed in 1608, in opposition to which the papists established their league in 1609, the fire already kindled, and smouldering beneath the ashes, received fresh strength, until at last it burst into flames in Bohemia, when the protestant church, in the little town of Klostergrab, was, by Romish influence, demolished, and the church in Brunau shut up, in consequence of which the protestants, first remonstrated with the emperor, and being answered with threats, they next pitched two insolent imperial councillors from the castle hall, together with their secretary, into the moat of the castle. And now the strife began, which spread from one end of Germany to the other, and at its close, left that country scathed, blasted and wasted, by fire, and sword, and plague, a scene of sad disorder and desolation. The serpent, Rome, though crippled and bleeding, had left her trail amid the verdure and flowers, of that otherwise beautiful and happy land.

But for the Lutheran church, humanly speaking, Rome would have destroyed Protestantism, in detail, on the continent at least. Whatever national politics, and personal ambition and interests, may have had to do with it, and however these may have ranged various parties in the strife, nevertheless, the great object of the thirty year's war was, that the emperor of Germany, the Pope's dutiful son, might advance the interests of Rome, by destroying the protestant princes, and subjecting the protestant states (principally Lutheran), one after the other. At Loretto and at Rome, Ferdinand had vowed to the Virgin, to advance her interests ; to extend her worship, at the risk of losing both his crown and his life. I need not say, that the suppression of protestantism was inseparably connected with this vow. Lutheranism eradicated, or the Lutheran church destroyed, it would have been comparatively easy, to extirpate the Reformed on the continent. But God would not suffer his cause (protestantism) thus to perish. He raised up heroes to defend it against the Canaanite ; men equal to the emergency, who put the armies of the aliens to flight, and wasted the gentile's power, to the extent that Israel might thenceforward sit in comparative safety, under his own vine and fig tree, without molestation or fear.

Not to mention the brave Ernest, Count of Mansfield, nor the king of Denmark, (who indeed scarcely deserves notice in this connection, and who was defeated by Tilly, on the Barenberg, in 1626) Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, merits

the highest place among the *military* heroes of the Lutheran church of the seventeenth century. Babylon marshaling her hosts, the Evangelicals saw nothing before them, *but resistance and triumph, or submission, captivity, chains and death*. Alarmed by the fearful portents around them, the protestants sought the Swedish king's assistance. Full of zeal for his religion, and exasperated also, by various injuries which he had received from the emperor, he landed in Pomerania, June the 24th, 1630, with an army of thirty thousand men. He drove the imperialists before him, wherever he appeared. Having increased his strength, he destroyed Tilly's army at Leipsic, in a great battle, fought September 7th, 1631, and reduced the emperor and his allies to the greatest straits, by his rapid movements, aided by the victories of his generals and confederates, in Westphalia and Lower Saxony, and by the invasion of Bohemia by the Saxons. Gustavus delivered the protestants in Franconia from the imperial army, conquered Mentz, made himself master of the Palatinate, and pushed into Bavaria. In the desperate condition of the affairs of the servants and supporters of the great Romish Apostacy, the mysterious Wallenstein, who had been dismissed on account of extortion and plunder, and who, since his disgrace, lived in Prague, as a private citizen indeed, but with the pomp of royalty, again appeared on the stage, with a formidable army, and with *high* military renown. The two chieftains, Gustavus and Wallenstein, with their armies, met at Nuremberg, but the latter would not risk a battle. They met again at Lützen, in Saxony, November the 6th, 1632. The two incomparable captains of that age, now stood face to face. Both had often fought. Both were the heroes of many battles. Both, in their encounters with their foes, had always conquered (unless, indeed, we except Wallenstein's unsuccessful siege of Stralsund, from May until July, 1628, in which he lost more than twelve thousand men, and which he renewed in September of the same year, declaring that "the city should be his, were it fastened by chains to heaven ;" but was constrained a second time to raise the siege, without effecting his purpose). One or the other must now be what he *never* was before—a *vanguished* leader. The fortunes of the day wrought a change for *both*. The Apostate, and hitherto successful Friedland, lost the field. The heroic king lost his life. The former was *discomfited*. The latter *dead*. In the morning, Sweden's king, kneeling in the presence of his army, offered his devotions on earth; in the evening, he worshipped in heaven. Various, contradictory, Schillerish-romantic, are the accounts of this great hero's

death, which have been long related and oft repeated, but the simple truth is this, he was killed on the spot by an Austrian bullet, his buff coat carried to Vienna, where it is still kept, and his body to Weisenfels, and given to his queen, and there too, his heart was buried, thus remaining in the land for which it had bled.

Next, in this order of heroes, may be mentioned the brave duke, Bernard of Weimer, and Gustavus Horn, who made the Swedish protestant (Lutheran) arms triumphant throughout almost all Germany. The duke was the fourth son of John of Saxe-Weimer. When the king of Sweden entered Germany, Bernard joined him, and was present at the attack on Wallenstein's camp, in the neighborhood of Nuremberg. In the battle of Lützen, he commanded the left wing of the Swedish army, and avenged the king's death, by the overthrow of the imperialists opposed to him. After many battles and great successes, he was suddenly seized with a disorder, and died, July the 8th, 1639. It is probable, indeed, that Richelieu had recourse to secret means, to rid France of the duke, who was become formidable by his growing power. Most cotemporary authors conjecture, that Richelieu caused him to be poisoned, and the duke himself, had no doubt that poison, however received, was the cause of his disease, which finally resulted in death. Poison indeed is one of the chosen instrumentalities employed by the great Antichristian Apostacy, (of which the cardinal was a proper representative,) to rid herself of those whose presence bodes her no good. Many an adversary has Rome silenced by her cunning mixtures. The blood of the many millions of slaughtered christians, which you discover in her skirts, and which is, and has long been, crying to heaven for vengeance, was not all shed in open violence, but much of it by the hired assassin, and not a little by food poisoned, and by the cup in which there was *death*.

But to proceed, Banner also made the protestant arms formidable. He was born 1596, of an old noble Swedish family. When a child, he fell from the castle window, four stories high, without being injured. Gustavus Adolphus valued him much, and early predicted his greatness. Accompanying the king to Germany, he obtained after his death, the chief command over sixteen thousand men, and was the terror of the enemy. He obtained the greatest glory by his victory at Wittstock, in 1636, over the Imperial and Saxon troops, and it was owing to his activity, that after the battle of Nordlingen the affairs of Sweden gradually improved. He died at Halberstadt, in 1641, under forty-five years of age, and like the preceding, was sus-

pected of having met with foul play, yet I apprehend that the excess of his leisure, was the only poison that brought him to a premature grave. In him Sweden, the protestants, the Lutherans, lost their ablest general, and the imperialists, or papists, their most dangerous enemy. During his command, thirty thousand of the enemy were slain, and six hundred of their standards taken.

Again, Torstenson with astonishing rapidity marched from one end of Germany to the other—made Austria tremble, and filled up the measure of Swedish glory. This protestant, (Lutheran) hero, never counted the number of his enemies. After the death of Banner, appointed to the chief command of the Swedish forces in Germany, the protestant cause which was in a condition most discouraging, soon recovered, by his conduct and activity. He defeated the papists at Schweidnitz. He drove back the imperial General Gallas into Bohemia with great loss. He routed the enemy at Jankow, and threatened Vienna. Being compelled in 1646 to resign his command, in consequence of bodily infirmities, he retired to Sweden and died in Stockholm in 1651, leaving behind him the reputation of a great and successful General, and of a friend and patron of the arts and sciences. Finally, in this connection we must not omit the name of Wrangel, who was one of those, who after the death of Banner commanded the Swedes under very difficult circumstances, until the arrival of the new commander-in-chief. When Torstenson resigned the command, that trust was confided to him, associated with Königsmark. In conjunction with others he defeated the enemy, and occupied Bavaria, until the peace of Westphalia 1648 put an end to hostilities.

But these illustrious men, were not the only Protestant (Lutheran) military heroes, who took the field in defence of evangelical principles, after Rome had drawn the sword, in the seventeenth century. The rank and file,—the brave men who overthrew the popish host at Leipsic, commanded by the until then unconquered Bavarian Jesuit and savage, (Tilly,) and scattered them, as the winds scatter the chaff of the summer's threshing-floor, were all heroes. (When Gustavus met this monastic General, at Breitensfeld September 7th 1631, he had been thirty-six times victorious, but was now entirely beaten; his army routed, and himself wounded. In a subsequent engagement with the Swedes, a protestant cannon ball, shattering his thigh, terminated his Jesuitism in a few days after, viz: April the 30th 1632. (His most celebrated exploit, the bloody sack of Magdeburg May 10th 1631, justifies the epithet (sav-

age,) which I have applied to him. History has few pages as black as those, on which the atrocities of Isolani's Croats and Pappenheim's Walloons, are recorded. Some officers imploring him, (Tilly,) to put a stop to the horrible outrages enacting in the devoted city, he coldly replied "come back within an hour, and I will then see what is to be done. The soldier ought to have some reward for his labors and dangers." On the 4th he entered the burned and plundered city in triumph. "Since the destruction of Troy and Jerusalem, no such victory has taken place," he wrote to his master. But to proceed, the thousands who in the environs of Lützen, kneeling sang their morning hymn on the day of Friedland's route, were an army of heroes. The regiments, which in the evening of that day of fury, of carnage, and of blood, occupied nearly the same position which had been assigned them in the morning, *but silent all, and cold in death*, were all heroes. The troops who at Jankowitz overthrew the papish emperor's last army, and took prisoner his last General; who poured into Moravia and Austria as an overflowing flood, (February 24th 1646,) and the thunder of whose cannon announced to the terrified Romish Viennese, that after the lapse of twenty-seven years, the tide of war had rolled back again, to the imperial city; these too were all heroes.

It would be unjust in this connection to pass by in silence Oxenstiern the great Swedish statesman, chancellor of Sweden, Governor-General of all the conquests of the Swedish arms in Germany, and after the death of his master head of the Protestant League, which was held together solely by his influence, wisdom and courage in that day of trial; that age of perplexity and confusion. Oxenstiern must be ranked among the greatest men who have taken a distinguished part in the affairs of the European world. Great and elevated views, a wonderful political sagacity and foresight, firmness and loftiness of purpose, wisdom in contriving, and prudence and energy in executing, a strict integrity, and a constant devotion to the welfare of his country, are among the characteristics of this great statesman. He died in 1654. Whilst he lived, he was as heroic as any of his heroic compeers, and though he commanded not armies on the field, or directed their special movements in the day of battle, yet he did more, he *created armies, and sustained and directed both General and troops, in the cabinet.*

Such were some of the heroes of the seventeenth century. I would not indeed be thought, or found glorifying those *generally*, whom the world thus denominates. Far from it. I

know that they have but too often been, men of blood, the murderers of nations, the plunderers of a world; men whom the widow has cursed, and whom the mother weeping over her slain sons, has cursed, and the famishing orphan has cursed; men accursed of man, and anathematised by God. I know, that names which the world has encircled with a halo of glory, shall rot, and that battle-fields, and victories immortalized in song, shall be forgotten. The Napoleons, and Cæsars, and Alexanders of the earth must all be displaced, and the niches of renown which they desecrated by their presence be filled up and be made beautiful by the noble army of martyrs, the goodly fellowship of the prophets, and the glorious company of the apostles. All this I know, but what I mean is, that chance is an infidel monosyllable. Not any thing is the result of chance, especially in reference to, or wherein the church of Christ is concerned. Christ in the language of another, is "in the history of nations, the change of dynasties, the eclipse of kingdoms, the wreck of empires; restraining, overruling, directing, sanctifying." Wheresoever the plough-share of Vespasian tore, or the cimetre of the Moslem mowed, or the foot of the Goth trod down; wheresoever the persecutor drove the christian, from Pella to the Cottian Alps; wheresoever the wild beasts devoured or the flame consumed; wheresoever the crescent waved or the cross waned; where Trent thundered its anathemas and Luther echoed his protests; in the Scicilian vespers; at the massacre of Bartholomew; on the pavements of Smithfield; in the French revolution; on the field of Waterloo; in all facts; in all occurrences Christ was and is." Alaric and his Goths, the Apocalyptic storm of hail and fire mingled with blood; what then? With an untrammelled free agency, yet must he needs appear in the time foreknown and predicted, and move forward, as if impelled by an unseen power, portentous, overwhelming, and desolating, until his mission is accomplished. Again Genseric the apocalyptic burning mountain cast into the sea, in his time spread desolation from one end of the Mediterranean to the other. Though free to follow his own inclinations, yet was the hand of destiny upon him. He must accomplish the judgment of which he was the instrument. "What course shall I steer," asked his pilot? "Leave that to the winds," was his answer, "they will transport us to the guilty coasts whose inhabitants have provoked the divine justice." Russia, the apocalyptic hailstorm, has been gathering in the north for a thousand years. The faint outline of the thunder-cloud however, was only first

visible to the nations of western Europe, when Charles XII. of Sweden lost the battle at Pultowa in 1709. Its lightnings were first manifest to the watchful eye, at the partial conquest of Turkey, and the subjugation of the independent Tartars of the Crimen. The practised ear could distinguish muttering thunder at the dismemberment of Poland, and again when Finland was severed from Sweden, and still nearer, clearer than before, in the occupation of the Danubian Principalities in 1848, and in the invasion of Hungary in 1849. In 1854, all Europe sees the storm high up in the heavens, imminent, dark, portentous, terrible, but confident that it will be driven back by the counter storm from the west. But Russia must fulfil her destiny. Retarded, humanly speaking, she may be for a season, as the thunder-cloud held in check by opposing winds, but impelled by a higher power, she will break through all opposing obstacles, and sweep over the *prescribed area*, irresistible, desolating, crushing. But if nothing in which the church is interested is left to accident, then the men who successively arose, to conduct the thirty year's war to a favorable issue, and whom we have denominated heroes, were not the result of chance, but the product of Providence. Rome sending forth her armed legions, for the destruction, or extermination of Protestants, and for the annihilation of Protestantism, i. e. true christianity in Germany, it seems to have been *ordained* in this instance, that popery having first drawn the sword, she should be repelled, by the sword; that Lutherans must meet her on the field of battle; waste her strength, and consume her energies, preparatory to her final destruction.

In France, by treachery and violence, Rome well nigh quenched the Reformation in blood. In Spain and in Italy, Rome's emissaries strangled the inoffensive and defenceless evangelical christians, like dogs, in the deep, dark and silent dungeons of the Inquisition. In the vallies of Piedmont, Rome's assassin hordes invaded the homes of the harmless disciples of Jesus, drove them from their habitations, and when they had taken refuge from their fiend-like pursuers, in the dens and caves of the mountains, they kindled fires at the entrance, and suffocated the strong man and the maiden, the mother, and the tender infant in her arms. Four hundred such innocents, were thus destroyed at the same place, and at one time. The mothers in Bethlehem, wept over their butchered babes, and might wrap them in fine linen, and follow them to the grave, and lay them there, and adjust their icy limbs, and sit down and weep, and each returning season plant flowers on their lowly beds, and water them with their tears;

but here, the infant, if buried at all, was buried by stranger hands. If tears were shed, they fell from stranger's eyes. Here no mother was left to weep. *Mother and babe, victims both, to the bloody genius of Rome, slept the same long sleep together.* Herod murdered the child, but spared the mother. Rome murdered both. When Herod died, he went down to the grave with infamy, and earth had one murderer, one persecutor less, and hell one victim more. O Rome, what will not be thy hell, and that of thy votaries, when thy judgment shall have come! thou master-work of satan, thou persecutor of Christ in his saints, thou full of cruelty, and fornication, and theft and murder!

But to proceed, when Rome's instincts prompted her to her accustomed practices of violence and of blood, to retrieve her losses in Germany, the protestants there, and from the far north, instead of *waiting, and permitting themselves* to be quietly strangled, met her with all the dread enginery of war, and overthrew her minions on many a hard contested field. Whatever Rome may have done to, or with others, destiny would not permit her, after her *peculiar* manner, to assassinate many Germans, for conscience sake, or for the sake of religion. Called the mistress of the world, she received terrible rebuffs from the Germanic quarter, in the progress of her history. Rome twice fell before Germans; Rome imperial, in the fifth, and Rome ecclesiastical, in the sixteenth century; and in the seventeenth, she writhed like a smitten serpent, beneath the oft repeated and sturdy Germanic blows. It was predicted that Rome, or the Apostacy, whose head quarters is the seven hill-ed city, should wear out the saints. She did. But when she attempted the Lutherans, she was herself worn out as well. Between Rome and Lutheran protestantism there is an everlasting antagonism. The two have often met in the field of controversy, and perhaps as often on the field of battle, and the result has always been, to leave universal protestantism stronger, and Rome weaker; a step nearer to destruction.

The heroes of whom I have spoken, (and without any special glorification too) I have said were the product of Providence, and not of chance, to repel the proud and mighty, and cruel Paganism, which has its chief seat in the (mis-called) eternal city, and which let loose the demon of war, and would have made protestant Germany a volcano, and its protestants ashes. Had I said more, the christian might demur. But having only stated historical facts, in respect to the military antagonists of Rome, they must stand. And beyond this, there is a heroism (not inoperative in the seventeenth century)

concerning which we cannot be mistaken ; which we cannot magnify too much ; to which no christian can take exception, and he who possesses it is, and in the estimation of all believers, must be, *a hero indeed*. It is, (I quote another) "he who depositest in the hearts of the desolate, the hopes of glory ; communicates to humanity new, brighter, and more thrilling hopes ; lifts it from the degradation in which sin has laid it ; turns its heretofore tearful face to the skies ; and tells it that, however smitten, proscribed and persecuted, it may look to the everlasting hills, and have eternity for its lifetime, infinitude for its home, the great God for its Father, and all the angels of heaven for its blessed and its happy companions." He who does this, who is thus characterized, who does all this, in the face of opposition, and revilings and persecution and death, is a hero indeed. True heroism was illustriously manifested and exemplified in the sixteenth century, in the man who providentially, through grace, understood the gospel, before he comprehended that Popery was the great Apostacy, who knew Christ to be a Savior, before he knew the Pope as the masterpiece of hell, and a destroyer, viz : Martin Luther. When none dared rebuke the miscreant venders of popish indulgencies, having heard of Tetzel's impieties and impostures, he declared, "God willing, I will make a hole in Tetzel's drum." He kept his word, and more, for at the proper time he struck, and with such force as to break it into pieces, so that the Pope and his artizans have never been able rightly to adjust the fragments. When summoned to Worms, and his friends dissuaded him from going, Luther's reply was, "If Jesus Christ do but aid me, I will never fly from the field, or desert the word of God. Should the Pope kindle a fire that will blaze from Wittenberg to Worms, I will appear in the name of the Lord." I need not here and now (to prove my position) quote his "tiles and devils, and his raining duke Georges for nine days together." This genuine heroism, this preaching Christ and a pure gospel, exhibited so gloriously in the sixteenth, was not extinct in the seventeenth century, by the side of kings, and princes, and statesmen, and generals, and warriors. Arndt and Franke lived in this century, and many more of kindred spirit, whose names, whether written in the annals of time or not, were recorded in the Lamb's book of life.

Finally : I despise the croaking predictions of evil, by prophets, whom the Lord did not send. But if I have read history, and providence, and prophecy aright, there is a day of trouble coming, such as the world never witnessed, in which every nation will be shaken, and thrones and altars hurled

through mid-heaven. True, in that season of trial, perplexity, darkness, commotion and revolution, the church will be safe, for the church has a friend in Omnipotence, and a citadel within the tabernacle of the Most High. But what I mean is, that the church will have no need of cowards then, but only of those who are heroes indeed. This day may be close upon us, and the fearful, like those in Gideon's army, had better retire. Brethren, Alumni, should this dark epoch fall upon your generation, which I regard as by no means impossible, be heroic, preach the everlasting, glorious gospel. Let no menaces from Antichrist, nor from the despairing wrath of the arch fiend deter you. Let no sum purchase you, and no bribe turn you. Be men, not cravens, nor yet a marketable article. "Merge yourselves in the claims of your Master, your feeling and safety, in the glory and commission of your Lord."

ARTICLE IV.

GENIUS AND THE CROSS.

A Lecture delivered before the two Literary Societies of ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY, by Rev. Ephraim Miller, M. A., of Peru, Illinois, and requested by his friends, for publication in the "Evangelical Review."

WE live in a wonderful world, with a life full of wonders. This is apparent, even from the few facts of earth and of life that are understood. *Understood!* What do we understand? We know some facts, we understand but very few. Some things belonging to motion, space and quantities, we understand, but our acquaintance with everything else, is little more than a *knowledge of its existence*. We would gladly understand them, but the subtle and elusive character of their laws compels us, for the present, to be content with knowing them to be. So the untutored Indian sees the sun rise and set; and because he has seen it rise and set in daily succession from infancy, without understanding it, he beholds it every day with the same despairing indifference. If the inquiry should even arise, how all this came so regularly to pass, the very absence of all means, by which to solve the mystery, would lead him to dismiss the subject from his mind. Should he, perchance, be somewhat speculative, he might form some rude, perhaps beautiful theory, in regard to it, whereby to entertain his mind, at least, if he could not satisfy it. So life, present and future,

has given rise to its fables. The idea of a state of perfect happiness, seems to be one of the intuitions of the soul. Accordingly, the ancients had their Myth of the Gardens of the Hesperides, where golden apples grew, and Hyperborean regions, where the cold north wind never blew. And although a more extended acquaintance with Geography compelled them to transfer the supposed location of these abodes of bliss to climes more remote, yet they did not abandon the belief in their existence. It was the best that they could do, or that had been done for them. And their poets, finding it at least a beautiful fable, retained it, and invested it with such additional beauties as their fancy supplied. The people were content with it, because they could not prove it false, and they felt that it was a necessity of the soul.

Something similar transpires within us and around us every day. But because it eludes our grasp, and baffles our first efforts to solve it, we pass on to the grosser, material tangibilities of life, and, absorbed in them, forget what we despair of being able to comprehend, whatever its essential interest.

A great fact becomes obvious from this. Nature and life want an interpreter; not one only, but many. This brief existence is not sufficient for one man, to make more than a beginning, in the varied and boundless inquiries that arrest the observing and thoughtful mind. Besides, nature and life are very diversified. Nature has her rough forms and strata, her affinities and repulsions, her action and resistance, her numbers and spaces, her meteors and orbs, her growth and decay. We want, therefore, the Geologist, the Chemist, the Mechanician, the Mathematician, the Astronomer and the Botanist, as interpreters of nature. Life has its thoughts and its feelings, its fancies and its reasonings, its aspirations and its grovellings, its national interests and its individual interests, its temporal affairs and its external affairs, its sicknesses bodily and its sicknesses spiritual. We want, therefore, the Psychologist, the Physiologist, the Jurist, the Diplomatist, the Theologian and Teacher, as interpreters of life. And these we want in unbroken succession; that the followers may take up the matter where the forerunners left it, and carry it forward on the way to completeness.

The office of unfolding the mysteries of Nature and Life is in its main exercise confined on the creative order of intellect, which suggests and shapes the prevailing thought; that order from which we must all learn, if we learn at all, and which is called Genius. But Genius itself, much as it can achieve, is not the Interpreter complete, until it associate itself

with, or rather subordinates itself to, another power ; we mean the Cross, as it is presented to us in the scriptures of the New Testament. We have accordingly selected as the theme of our present discourse,

GENIUS AND THE CROSS.

Nor is it an unnatural and forced relation which we propose. But when the influence of the two as agencies working out results upon the life and destiny of man is considered, the relation is seen to be most important and significant, whether it be that of coöperation or opposition.

Three things in that relation are especially worthy of attention.

I. The attitude of hostility to the Cross, so often assumed by Genius. II. What its attitude ought to be. III. What it may achieve in its right position. It requires but a superficial acquaintance with the literature of all countries that possess one, to ascertain that many of the loftiest intellects have constituted themselves to the debasement of man. Much of our poetry and fiction, such too as has currency to the greatest extent, is characterized by the vilest impurity and licentiousness, the coarsest caricatures of virtue and morality, whilst it is thoroughly pervaded by a shallow infidel philosophy and contempt for everything in the shape of christianity.

In English literature the novel seems first to have been designed for amusement, and that only. It seemed scarcely conscious of the possibility of a higher aim. Accordingly it chose its themes from those regions where a corrupt imagination mostly loves to dwell, knowing that thus it would attain its low aim most effectually. And although it has since ascended to the highest grades, first of historical instruction, and second of moral and even philosophic teachings, yet it is a painful and alarming fact that the press is pouring forth vast streams of the lowest class of corrupting fiction, which is eagerly bought and read by the multitudes whose propensities are only to grovel. We may say at the present time, although we observe some better tendencies, that the bulk of our fictitious literature is designed to amuse much more than to instruct and improve. It has no high and ennobling aims. It seeks not to elevate, only to entertain ; thus confirming its votaries in the idea that it is useless to aspire after any permanent good.

There seems too, to be something peculiarly bewitching in the idea of amusing, or pleasantly entertaining others. The power and the exercise of it secures the gratitude and liking of the many ; and we are pleased when others feel thankful

to us; for in all probability they will praise us then. This attracts a large number of those who possess a greater or less share of genius, into this method of securing wealth and honor both. Thus by seeking only to titillate the morbid imagination of a babyish sentimentalism or grovelling licentiousness, the author of fiction, either directly or indirectly, opposes the influence of the cross, and diverts the mind into channels destructive both of temporal and eternal interests.

We can dwell but briefly on the several topics ranging themselves under this head. We pass hastily to others.

In recent times, poetry, pretending to be religious, too, has shot wide of the truth, in the endeavor to harmonize the principles of the cross with a pre-adopted philosophy. A sickly humanity or sentiment of benevolence, rendered the penalties of the divine law too horrible for adoption or belief, by truly refined and elevated souls, and accordingly, an entire poem must be written, to prove that finally all evil and misery will be removed. (See the conclusion of the "Festus" of Bailey.)

But the departments in which Genius, at the present day, most decidedly manifests its hostility to the cross, are science and philosophy. Both are endeavoring to dispense with divine Revelation, both are aiming to establish the sufficiency of the powers of man for every necessity and emergency of his state.

Science, in the hands of some, boasts of having detected false statements in the Bible, whilst Philosophy pretends to have discovered the true mode of securing universal happiness. The latter indeed often in smooth and oily phrase speaks favorably, but patronizingly of the great system of christian doctrine, pretends to aim at the same results, prates of "Liberty," "Fraternity," "Reformation," "Benevolence," "Culture &c.," in terms the most imposing and enthusiastic, leaving the impression that, that which proposes the same result as Christianity, must be good, if it be not Christianity itself or something better. But when examined according to its actual tendencies, divested of the pretensions which it puts forth as a veil to its real character, it is found to have placed itself in an attitude of irreconcilable hostility to the teachings of the divine Book. We have its developments in every grade, from the impracticabilities of Communism and its kindred *isms*, to the wild and utter lawlessness of the German liberty mania, and from simple Scepticism down to Pantheism and avowed Atheism. And, preposterous as examination proves such a Philosophy to be, yet it has in every phase of its existence

found numbers ready to be humbugged into its Utopian experimentings.

So in every other department where human thought has been engaged, we see Genius arraying itself against the glorious and saving truths of Christianity, striving to put down the Cross, and substitute for it the image, deformed and hideous, of proud and corrupt humanity, as the object of worship, calling to the people, "These be thy gods O Israel! which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt."

What the attitude of Genius towards the Cross ought to be is soon and easily told. It ought to sit down by the Cross and gaze upon the immaculate Victim rudely suspended there, until it can comprehend glory in the deepest abasement, love in return for the bitterest hate, authority in the attire of a servant, and divine majesty in the reputed malefactor. It ought to fix its eyes upon that brow of innocent agony until it feels that "it is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners," of whom it has been the chief. It ought to sit at the feet of the Great Teacher until it become thoroughly imbued with his heavenly spirit, and its heart become filled to overflowing with love and gratitude for such wondrous grace, until like Thomas it exclaims with rapture and amazement, "My Lord and my God," or with Paul counts "all things but loss for Christ," whilst with John it leans in living confidence upon the Savior's breast. It ought so to study that glorious character, that it may feel that there is none to be honored, none to be loved, none to be served but the God-man, and with numerous witnesses for the truth, it may be able to enter the lion's den, the burning fiery furnace, patiently endure cruel mockings and scourgings, bonds and imprisonments, and an unsheltered home "in deserts and mountains, in dens and caves of the earth," in the divine Redeemer's cause. Instead of constituting itself the chief mocker at the man of Calvary, it ought to be the chief advocate of his glory. Instead of being the ringleader in the band of fools who "say in their hearts, there is no God," it should join its voice with Nature and Revelation in proclaiming aloud not only the being, but the grace of God. Instead of pandering to the depraved appetites of licentious admirers, it ought to employ itself in persuading men to be reconciled with God. And instead of soaring amid the airy speculation of an inflated philosophy, it ought to search "what is the breadth and length and depth and height;" and to know the

love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that it might be "filled with all the fullness of God."

Such is the attitude it ought to assume. But what it may achieve when having taken its right position is not so easily told, nay it cannot be adequately estimated. We know partly what it has done in the domain of evil, and we can only conjecture what it can do in that of good, by what it has done. And here we find a bright side of the picture, of which we have faintly traced the dark one.

It has sung in penitential, devotional and joyful strains, most humanly, too, as well as divinely, in the Psalms, and taught the pious heart of every age, to repent, to pray and to sing. It has perched itself on the mountain tops of prophetic Inspiration and heralded the coming of the sun of Righteousness in the unapproachable sublimity of Isaiah. It has unfolded the plan of Salvation with the logic and rhetoric of Paul. It has pleaded with the wicked in the melodious accents of a Chrysostom. It has dug from the rubbish of papal barbarism the great doctrines of grace, and uttered them anew in the thunder tones of a Luther. It has systematized the teachings of the Bible in the deep and expansive meditations of a Calvin. It has built the lofty verse of the "Paradise lost," sung the sweet cadences of the "Course of Time," complained piteously and expostulated sadly in the "Night Thoughts," and followed the "Progress of the Pilgrim," till he was lost in the unspeakable glory of the new Jerusalem. It has descended to the loathsome dungeon of the prisoner, and awakened pity in the heart of humanity for his miseries and neglect. It has struck the fetters from the hands of the African slave. It has given sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, speech to the dumb, and feet to the maimed. But what has it not done? Are not your Architectures, your Arts and Sciences, your Literature, your Mechanical Improvements, your Presses, your Steam Engines, Railroads, Steamers and Telegraphs all the handiwork of Genius. What a dull lifeless and barbaric world this would be had not Genius shed its light and quickening power over it! And what an impulse the mind receives, in contemplating its triumphs! How strange and hope-inspiring, that inanimate matter can be so arranged as to perform the manual labor of intelligence with greater speed and precision than the most skillful hand can do it! It seems almost incredible that machinery could be contrived to make mathematical calculations with unfailing accuracy, correcting its errors, should it by chance commit any, and producing an infallible result. It is wonderful, to see the

ponderous steam engine applied to the performance of the most delicate needle work. And had we not evidence of the fact, we might be inclined to reckon our electric communication, among the tales of the "Arabian Nights!" Yet such is the power of Genius that it overleaps the barriers of ignorance and opposition and darts with eagle speed and directness to the attainments of its objects.

All the useful inventions of genius too, have more or less contributed to the triumphs of the cross, though it may have had no share in their original design. It was a happy omen that the first large book that issued from the press, was the Bible. And the rapid production of that volume, by the aid of the press, has done more for the dissemination of christian principles, than any other means ever employed by man.

But everything beautiful and useful in the arts, sciences and literature, is contributing, silently and imperceptibly, it is true, but certainly, to the advancement of humanity. And although in its first appreciating task of the knowledge and culture thus acquired, it may become intoxicated, and in its intoxication cry out, "no God," "no truth in the Bible," or "away with all laws," and the like, yet we are reminded here, and shall doubtless ultimately experience the truth of the lines so often quoted,

"A little knowledge is a dangerous thing,
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring;
These shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
But drinking largely sobers us again."

So the human race, or that portion of it which has had access to the wonderful improvements which characterize the present age, in every department of life, has actually been passing through this phase, so often marked in the individual. So much that is startling and almost incredible, has been achieved by the mental labors of our men of science, that we seem to be wild with excitement and hope, and begin to think that nothing is impossible to man; in other words, that man is God. The pantheist of the present day, has indeed much more reason to say that all things, all nature constitutes God, and that man is the conscious principle or element in that divinity, than the pantheist of antiquity. For there never has been such a fermentation of thought, that evolved so many permanent improvements and means of advancement. It is not strange, that man should look at himself, with something like adoration, and ask whether he be not an essential part of the divine nature, the creating power; especially when he looks with the dimmed vision of an intoxicated brain, at his rapidly extending control over elements, that formerly were

regarded only with trembling awe. It is by no means strange that he should, in this flush of excitement, expect with confidence the entire subjection of all the unconscious powers of nature to his own will, so that the lightnings shall become his wood sawyers and scavengers, as they now are his messengers. The drunken wretch, whose hut does not shelter him from the sun, or the wind or the rain, often fancies himself to be the proprietor of millions, and dispenses his promises with lavish profusion, upon every one who may need his sympathy or aid. But when the inebriating influence is exhausted, his golden visions vanish, and he only feels himself poor, and in need of a physician. It is not unreasonable to suppose that such a process may characterize the human soul in the race of improvement. When it has proceeded to that point, where it hopes to have acquired the dominion which it seeks, and finds that, like the natural horizon, so the horizon of knowledge is constantly advancing at a pace equal to its own progress, and remains forever at the same distance, then it may begin to think somewhat meanly of itself. Happy for it, if it can scale some lofty mountain, even should it await there the realization of its ambitious and presumptuous hopes, whence it may behold the boundlessness of the regions beyond, or perchance see

"Hills peep o'er hills, and Alps on Alps arise."

For then it will be constrained to acknowledge its own poverty, and look with shame upon its ignorant presumption, and, restored to the use of its sober senses, seek the aid of the All-wise and great physician, who is the only source of truth and life. Such undoubtedly will be the result, though the process may be interrupted and tedious.

Slowly but certainly, with fluctuations, but ever with decided progress, the originating intellect of the world is elaborating the proposition of general illumination. And when genius ceases to debase and prostitute itself, and takes its right position towards christianity, then only will it be seen what a glorious mission it has upon earth. It will not be content to contribute indirectly to the advancement of the human family towards the latter day glory, but will shape its thought and action so as to refer distinctly to that end, and direct its course with undeviating consistency to the cross. Its cheerfulness, instead of seeking only to excite an empty laugh, will animate mankind with the most glowing pictures of the goodness of God, and its merriment burst forth into exalted songs of praise that shall awaken a response from the myriads whom it is its special privilege to address. Its tragic power will unfold, in

thrilling detail, and paint in deep colors, the sorrows of the Man of Calvary, that men may appreciate the cost of their redemption, and the strength of their Redeemer's love ; whilst on the other hand, it will tell in awful accents of the "fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, that shall devour the adversary," that men may learn not to trifle with the justice and righteousness of their Maker. Its powers of investigation will exert themselves to render more intelligible the mysteries of salvation, whilst by the aid of its imagination, it will furnish man with enchanting views of the blessedness of the saints in their Father's kingdom. And when it has learned to look up through nature unto nature's God, with steadfast and adoring glance, how will not the beauties, the sublimities, the wonders and the powers of that nature, as unfolded by its magic touch, call forth continual songs of praise unto Him who has so marvelously and wisely ordained the works of the universe. All this it has already done, and is still doing. But every day reminds us that more remains to be done than ever has been done ; that new fields are to be explored, and new views to be taken of those already explored.

Let our poetry, fiction, oratory, science, legislation and jurisprudence, be imbued with the spirit of the gospel, let them all combine for the illustration and diffusion of its beneficent principles, let their united influence be directed towards the moral improvement of humanity, and the dissemination of right sentiments in regard to the Creator of all ; let poetry sing the praises of redemption, fiction, in life-like narration, illustrate the practice and action of virtue in contrast with the results of vice, oratory dwell upon the practical and elevating themes of Holy writ, science tell the wisdom, power and goodness of God, legislation seek the good of all by equal laws, based upon that most reliable of law-books, the Bible, jurisprudence seek to administer justice with impartial hand, whilst it exhorts and encourages the offender with the tenderness of mercy, to a reformation of life ; let all the most brilliant intellects representing these several departments, join in the promotion of these objects, and the result upon the condition of human society would be incalculable.

One mighty thought, uttered by a far-seeing and daring spirit, is like the "burning mountain," in the Apocalypse, cast into the sea. It awakens a heaving and commotion of the waters, that engulphs the petty presurer who launches his bark upon its waves, in the hope that his presence and voice shall still its ragings. The words of the prophet, "the just shall live by faith," uttered in the beginning of the sixteenth century against

the enormity of papal indulgences, by a soul that conceived their import strongly, and felt the divinities of their power, shook the throne of darkness whence those abominations issued, to its centre. It was truly the burning mountain cast into the sea ; and the waters of human thought have never since subsided to their previous sluggish and stagnant calm ; a calm which produced on its surface only the unsightly and loathsome scum of monkish indolence and priestly licentiousness, and exhaled over the earth the deadly miasmata of popish corruption and despotism. Those waters have been roused into action, and have ever since been dashing their angry waves against the pillars of the power of darkness and tyranny, and will not stay their violence, until every vestige of all that has oppressed and darkened the mind of man, has been swept away.

In the sixteenth century, sanctified genius took up its abode at Wittenberg, Geneva and Zurich. From these historical eminences it spake, and conscience was free. That voice of power was heard far and wide in that momentous age, and is ringing in our ears to this day, in every conflict for liberty, and in every shout of triumph that ascends from emancipated man. It was the trumpet call to nations, to rouse themselves from the lethargy of ages, and the signal of doom to every form of secular and spiritual despotism. It sounded over the waters, and Scotland heard it in the fearless utterances of a Knox, England heard it in the lofty thoughts of a republican Milton, and America heard it in the declaration that all men are free, and one of the noblest bards of Germany has since sung, that

"Man is free though born in chains."

Thus it has been in all ages. When some strong and determined mind has seized upon a great life truth, and published it to the world, it has always produced, sooner or later, such changes in the condition of man, as to mark that period with the characteristics of an era. And it has always been the case, when such changes did take place, that they were fermented by a *thought* that was originated by that order of intellect which alone can originate. Genius has ever, either immediately or remotely, been the prime human agent in the march of freedom, as it has in only too many instances, contributed to the perpetuation, or at least extension, of despotism. The masses want a leader. Political parties, schools of philosophy, science and art, religious denominations, new church movements, every little community, all want a leader, some mind

more gifted, far-sighted and determined than the rest, to which they can look for counsel and example.

Genius has achieved wonders with the sword, greater wonders with the pen, but it will achieve unspeakably greater with the blood of the cross. When its eyes and lips have been anointed with the blood of the cross, it will see things and utter sayings, that will startle dead nations into life, and shake the heart of the world as with an earthquake shock. When another Paul shall go forth, despising the wisdom of human philosophy, and knowing "nothing but Christ, and him crucified," with his soul, like the burning bush in the desert, wrapt in a flame of love to the author of life and salvation, his body upon earth, whilst his spirit dwells in heaven, realizing the glory of God, and the "powers of the world to come," regarding not life, nor ease, nor honor, and shall pour forth from his full heart his rich conceptions and experiences of divine wisdom, upon the ear of humanity, that ear being opened to by the Divine Spirit, to the appreciation of that wisdom, then shall we realize the fulfilment of the prophecy, that a "nation shall be born in a day," then shall men and angels witness how "the kingdoms of this world have become the kingdom of our Lord and his Christ."

Such a burning and consuming intensity of devotion to a specific object, especially if it be a worthy one, is characteristic of genius in its highest grade. It possesses an unconquerable earnestness and enthusiasm, a fiery energy, a focal concentration of purpose, that lends it, in a greater or less degree, to sacrifice every other consideration. It sees but one thing, it knows but one thing, it desires but one thing. The words of an American poet, put into the mouth of the painter Parrhasius, expressing his thirst for fame, are scarcely hyperbolical, if at all,

"Ay ! there's a deathless name,
A spirit that the smoth'ring vault shall spurn,
And like a steadfast planet mount and burn ;
And though its crown of flame
Consumed my brain to ashes as it won me,
By all the fiery stars ! I'd pluck it on me.

Ay ! though it bid me rifle
My heart's last fount for its insatiate thirst,
And every life-strung nerve be maddened first,
Ay ! though it bid me stifle
The yearning in my throat for my sweet child,
And taunt its mother till my brain went wild ;
All, I would do it all,
Sooner than die like the dull worm, to rot,
Thrust foully to the earth and be forgot."

Nor does poetry furnish the only illustrations of this feature. We have a Napoleon sacrificing his strongest domestic affections, for the promotion of the objects of his ambition ; a Columbus venturing all his hopes in three little vessels upon the unknown and untraversed ocean ; a youthful Pascal debarred by a father's will from the study of geometry, elaborating a system of that science himself ; a Burritt, sooty and brawny-armed, at the blacksmith's forge, laying the foundation of almost incredible attainments in languages ; a Kirke White of glorious promise, bartering health and life for the treasures of science and literature ; a Milton burning the midnight lamp, until he could no longer behold the great lamp of day ; and a Hugh Miller whilst wielding the quarryman's crow-bar, making those profound observations, and laying up that store of knowledge, not dug from books, but from rocks, which enabled him afterwards to wield the Geologist's pen with such astounding efficiency and power, to the confusion of those who see no "Footprints of the Creator," in the "Vestiges of Creation." Indeed we might run through the whole catalogue of great performances, and we should find this trait in the performances underlying and pervading them all.

Let this quality be combined, as it often has been, with a spirit that consciously embraces the aggregate *tendencies* of the intellect of its own age, and the *results* of more or less successive ages, or, in other words, give us the heroic order of Genius, and let it place itself "behind the Cross," and bear that emblem of light throughout the earth, and darkness will flee, tyranny will fall, unbelief shall vanish, and science itself lie humbled, *yet in its humiliation lie ennobled before the beams of the "Sun of Righteousness."*

Gentlemen : as you have looked at the achievements of Genius and reflected what it is able yet to perform, doubtless you have felt the ennobling wish, that you might tread in its shining track. It is a glorious work which it has accomplished and is daily developing in more glorious issues still. Every one may say, "could I do something of that kind, something that will benefit mankind on an extended scale, I should labor with cheerfulness.

But let no one be discouraged. Each one of you has a mission in life, something to do, some influence to exert. Your life will be glorious if you are true to your mission, true to yourself. "What wilt thou have me to do ?" is the earnest inquiry which every one ought to make. No one may be an idler now ; none may bury his talent, be it but one. A century past, a century to come. How much is embraced in

those words. The century is past, so are its actors, so its passions and its actions; not so its influences. The influence of every one that lived then, is working yet. Nor is it likely that it will ever cease to work. The century to come will be modified by it. In the century to come you will have lived and acted and as an actor will have passed away too. Your name may not be remembered. Your tombstone may have crumbled into dust like your body, or the ploughshare have passed over your grave, but the thoughts that you shall have uttered and the influence which you shall have exerted, will be ploughed into the character of others, possibly for a decade of centuries. While the distinguished Dr. Paley was a student at College, he was negligent and irregular in the performance of his duties. A dissipated companion, one morning early, entered his room, and remonstrated with him for wasting his time and opportunities which might be of such signal service to the world. The remonstrance was heeded, and we possess the fruits of it in those profound works which afterwards issued from Paley's pen.

Nobody inquires after the name of the man, who thus induced that giant to shake off the fetters that were likely to bind him down to a weak and inefficient career; but he has left his mark notwithstanding. So may you. A word that you utter may burn itself into the soul of a companion, and if it be for good, you have not lived in vain. Your voice may not circle around as far as that of many others, yet let it be true, and let it be heard. Your star may not shine as brightly as many others in the firmament, but let it be in the right direction. It will guide aright as certainly as if it were larger. The Polar star does not bear upon the earth with the fiery intensity of Sirius, but it is the Polar star after all.

"Lives of all great men remind us,
We may make our lives sublime,
And departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time;
Footprints that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
Some forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing may take heart again."

In conclusion, learn from genius to devote yourselves to some definite purpose. Ask what is your call. Ask it of Him "who giveth wisdom liberally, and upbraideth not." Ask it too, of your own consciousness. Then pursue it with energy and earnestness. And in the pursuit cultivate sincerity. Life's drama is played within you and without you, with a power

and significance never before equalled. Time rushes on. He who strives to keep pace with it, becomes wise, he who lags remains a fool.

ARTICLE V.

NATHANAEL:—OR THE TRUE ISRAELITE.

By the Rev. B. Appleby, Baltimore.

THE difference between sacred and profane biography is so distinctly marked, that the one may, with some propriety, be denominated *internal*, and the other *external*. The biographical sketches of the Bible were written by men “who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost,” and they take us at once to the hearts of their subjects, and show us their real character, by revealing the motives and principles which moved and governed their lives.

This, profane authors cannot pretend to do; the most they can do is, to give a narrative of the deeds and sayings of men, from which they and their readers may infer their motives and principles, and form an estimate of their character. But such estimates will be, and if necessity must be, as often wrong as right. For this reason the biographies of profane authors are not so profitable as those of the sacred writers. Neither are they so interesting. And the reason for this is, they make us too familiar with their subjects. They descend too much to particulars, and to all the circumstantial detail of little things. Not so with the sacred writers. They never trouble us with little things. Sometimes, indeed, they stop to tell us where a man was born, and who were his parents, but not often. And when they do, we may take it for granted that it is highly important that we should know these things. But very often, passing over all these points in perfect silence, they seize upon some important epoch in the man’s life, and introduce him to us just at that point; and with a few words, well chosen, and well applied, they reveal to us, as with a flash of light, all of his character that is worth knowing.

The great prophet, Elijah, is introduced to our notice in these simple but terrible words: “And Elijah, the Tishbite, who was of the inhabitants of Gilead, said unto Ahab, As the Lord God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word.” Thus

"in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye," Elijah stands before us the prophet of the Lord, clothed with awful majesty and power.

Melchizedek is introduced in the same abrupt manner, as "king of Salem, and priest of the most High God." And so of the subject of this article. The first intimation we have of the existence of such a man as Nathanael, is in these words: "And Philip findeth Nathanael." Here is the man. "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile." Here is his character.

I. Nathanael was not a hypocrite.

This is evident from the words: "An Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile." If Jesus had merely told us that he was an Israelite, we would have been as ignorant of his real character, as we were of his existence before Philip found him.

To be an Israelite, simply means, to be a descendant of Jacob, a member of the Jewish church and nation.

But what knowledge does this give us of individual character? "For they are not all Israel who are of Israel;" that is, they are not all Israelites in heart, who are Israelites by descent. But how shall we distinguish between them? And, when we have found an Israelite in heart, and wish to point him out to a friend, how shall we designate him? Evidently by adding to the word Israelite, some other word; as *indeed*; *in reality*; *in truth*. No doubt the Savior laid peculiar stress upon the word *indeed*, when he uttered it. And, as though he were afraid his disciples would not understand what he meant by "an Israelite indeed," he immediately added, "in whom is no guile." So then, the latter part of the sentence is an explanation of the former.

To be an Israelite *indeed*, then, is to be an Israelite in whose heart there is no guile: or, in whose heart there is no hypocrisy; no deceit; no falsehood: an Israelite who honestly, and conscientiously endeavors to conform his life to the law of Moses. "For, he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God." He whose profession of the Jew's religion does not lead him to obey the law of Moses, is not worthy of the name of Jew.

His circumcision and membership in the Jewish church are a mere nullity. For, "circumcision verily profiteth if thou keep the law, but if thou be a breaker of the law, thy circumcision is made uncircumcision."

So then, to be a Jew *inwardly*, and an Israelite *indeed*, mean the same thing. It is to be honest, sincere and without guile: to believe what we profess, and practice what we believe. Such a man was Nathanael.

But how could Nathanael be honest, and at the same time be so prejudiced against Nazareth? To be honest and sincere in heart, does not necessarily imply perfect freedom from all unreasonable bias of mind. We have the Savior's word for it, that Nathanael was an honest man; and we have Nathanael's own word for it, that he verily thought that no good thing could come out of Nazareth. Here then, we behold, strong prejudice and sterling honesty dwelling in the same heart. The prejudice itself was an *honest* prejudice. Nathanael was sincere in believing as he did. The proverb, "that no good thing could come out of Nazareth," was so general, and so venerable, that he received it as a settled and true maxim.

What a rebuke does this fact administer to all those, who denounce all other men, as hypocrites, schismatics, and imposers, who differ from them in opinion! May not those who hold opinions contrary to ours, be as honest as we are, who hold opinions contrary to theirs? And as we know that we are honest in our opinions, ought we not to believe that they are honest in theirs? O for that charity which "thinketh no evil!"

- II. Nathanael was not a bigot.

Though an honest man may be strongly prejudiced, yet he is always open to conviction. Truth is the great object at which he aims, and, so soon as he discovers that his opinions and prepossessions are opposed to the truth, he will reject them at once and forever.

And just here may be found the line which separates the bigot from the man of honest prejudices. The bigot will not see, will not hear, will not consider. He shuts his eyes, stops his ears, and turns away from the truth. But the man of honest prejudice will see, will hear, and will consider. And if convinced that he is wrong, he will confess it, and embrace the truth. So did Nathanael. How nobly did he act in the instance before us!

Indeed, we scarcely know which to admire the most; the open frankness of Nathanael, or the calm philosophical self-possession of Philip. When Philip told Nathanael that he had found the Messiah in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, and Nathanael urged the objection that "no good thing could come out of Nazareth," Philip, knowing it was useless to argue against old and long established prejudices, and feeling

confident in the power of the plain, simple truth, merely said, "*Come and see.*" There was no disposition on his part to gain a splendid triumph, by a long and learned argument; he seems to have been willing to let the simple truth, as it is in Jesus, glorify itself and its author, in the conversion of his friend, though he himself should sink into nothingness. Such conduct, so noble, and so self-sacrificing, could only be surpassed by the conduct of Nathanael.

But, if Nathanael had been a bigot, when Philip said to him, "*come and see,*" he would have said, no! I will not go and see; I want no new light; I am satisfied with my religion; I believe as my fathers did; their religion is good enough for me. I thank God that Nathanael was not a bigot. Had he been, like many of the blind Pharisees, he would never have found the Savior. Do bigots ever find him? Honest men, I know, always do, when they seek him. Nathanael was an honest man. Therefore, he accepted Philip's invitation. Indeed, he could not do otherwise. The proposition to "*come and see,*" was so plain, so fair, and so just, that an honest man could not reject it. If you cannot take my word for it, Nathanael; if you cannot rely upon my testimony, "*come and see*" for yourself. He went, he saw, and he believed.

III. Nathanael was a praying man. This we take for granted from the place in which we find him. We find him under the fig tree, alone, and no doubt he was praying and meditating. As the housetop in the city, so was the vine and the fig-tree in the country much resorted to by the pious Jews, in all their generations, for the purpose of prayer and meditation. Indeed, it became a habit; and this habit suggested to the minds of several of the sacred writers, one of the most beautiful and touching poetical sayings in all the Bible.

How suggestive of the idea of peace, of safety and security, is the sight of a man under his own vine or fig-tree, wrapt in meditation, or in undisturbed communion with God. So the sacred historian, when he would describe the quiet and peaceful reign of Solomon, said: "And Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, from Dan even to Beersheba, all the days of Solomon." So likewise the prophet Micah, foretelling the peace, the safety and the security of the people of God under the reign of the coming Messiah, said: "They shall sit, every man under his own vine, and under his own fig tree; and none shall make them afraid." The Messiah has come: his reign has commenced: and wherever his power is greater in the hearts of the people, than the power of Antichrist, there religious

liberty is enjoyed. It is so in our own happy country. And ought we not, with gratitude in our hearts to God for the blessings which we enjoy, beseech Him so to extend the dominion of his son, that all men, in all lands from the rising of the sun, to the going down of the same, may sit under their own vine, and under their own fig-tree, worshipping the God of their fathers according to the dictates of their own conscience.

But to return to Nathanael. As we have no doubt that he was praying and meditating under the fig-tree, so from various considerations we think it highly probable that the subject of his prayers and meditations was, the Messiah. For, is it not a fact, that Jesus while in the flesh, as well as now in the spirit, so accommodated his movements to the openings, and the indications of providence, as to call men just at the right time and in the right place? just at the time when his call would make the deepest impression, and when they most needed his presence and blessing? Philip and the eunuch did not meet on the road leading from Jerusalem to Gaza, by chance, or accidentally, but providentially. The same spirit which had been preparing the eunuch's heart for the reception of the truth, said unto Philip, "Go near and join thyself to his chariot." Philip did so: and as they rode along he preached unto him Jesus; and before Philip finished his sermon, the eunuch was converted.

The path of duty is the path of safety. The eunuch had been up at Jerusalem to worship, not to make money or to enjoy pleasure; and as he returned home he read his bible, not a novel or a book of tales. The Lord is always near those who call upon Him, though they know it not. Behold Nathanael under the fig tree! Does he know that the Messiah has come? that he is near him? and that in a few moments he will see him, and embrace him? No, he is ignorant of all this. But he is doing his duty: he is praying, meditating, perhaps reading. Philip providentially passed by that way, and seeing Nathanael in his retreat, called unto him and said: Nathanael! "we have found him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph."

O what welcome news! Do you not imagine, that Nathanael immediately sprang to his feet, and with commingled joy and surprise beaming in his countenance said: why Philip, this is just what I was thinking of and praying for! Have you found him? are you sure? But you said he was of Nazareth; do you not know, "that no good thing can come out of Nazareth?" Well, Nathanael, "*come and see.*" Nathanael

went. And as he approached, Jesus said of him, "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile." Nathanael heard these words and was astonished. Does this man know my heart? Perhaps some of my friends have told him who I am. I will ask him. And he said, "whence knowest thou me?" "Jesus answered and said unto him, before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig tree, I saw thee." This went home to Nathanael's heart. He knew that Jesus, being where he was at the time, could not have seen him with his bodily eyes, and that none but a supernatural being could have seen him in any other way. He was convinced that Jesus was the Christ. And, as soon as his heart believed, his mouth confessed: "Rabbi, thou art the son of God; thou art the King of Israel." Thus his prejudices all conquered, his doubts all scattered, his heart convinced, and his mind illuminated, he embraced the Nazarene as the son of God, and the Saviour of the world.

ARTICLE VI.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MIND ON THE BODY.

IT is proposed to take up and to treat the influence of the mind upon the body; a subject presenting many singular facts, and altogether deserving of special attention; but, so copious, that it must be very lightly skimmed in a single not protracted article. There is nothing, perhaps, in the sphere in which we live, more astonishing, better ascertained, and more inexplicable, than the effects produced upon our animal organization by that part of our nature in which reside thought and volition. There is a very intimate, though very mysterious connection, between the two. How the one influences the other, the body the mind, and the mind the body, can be determined, only so far as that it is through the medium of the nervous system, in general, and its great centre, the brain. We derive our knowledge of the external world from the senses, transmitting their impressions through nerves, and it is by them that the mind reacts upon the body. We are not aware that the mind can operate directly upon the body, or upon any of the animal functions, in any other manner than by thin mysterious threads and strings of animal organization, called nerves. It is true, that the control of the mind over the body, is very minute,

embracing not only all the great vital operations, but likewise the minor, but whatever secondary or reflex influences there may be, they are all to be traced to nervous action, and so far as they are voluntary, to the mind active in the production of that action. It is a singular, but very interesting fact, that the part of the animal economy of which we are now speaking, divides itself into two great classes, nerves of sensation, and nerves of motion, and that these functions are kept distinct. Similar as they may appear, bound up, as they may be, together, they do not interfere with each other's operations. Although it might be supposed, that the range of influence of the mind, over those nerves which produce motion, would be far greater than over others, it is, nevertheless, true, that the nerves of sensation are not exempted.

Having thus briefly touched upon the instrument, and particularly the chords, on which the mind performs in producing its music, we propose to divide and discuss the entire subject under the following heads: The general subject, the influence of the mind upon the body; and first, the more ordinary effects. Second, the less ordinary. Third, influence on the healthy body in deranging it. Fourth, influence in morbid conditions, either augmenting, diminishing, or removing them.

First. The more ordinary effects. Here we simply refer to the power exercised by the mind over the instruments of motion. These are called muscles (Keil enumerates 446 Modern *Anatomist*, 527). Numerous, complicated, and minute as they sometimes are, and performing the greatest variety of motions, with most amazing precision, they are entirely under the command of the mind. Like an able General, with an army perfectly disciplined, it issues its behests, and obedience follows, so perfect that there can be no complaint; by functionaries, not known in innumerable instances to the mind, by processes involved in profound darkness, but well calculated to excite the highest admiration. The mind wills, it acts upon the brain, the brain on the nerves, the nerves on the muscles, they contract, they act from the point from which they arise, upon the point into which they are fixed, and by a perfectly mechanical process, and in accordance with the laws of motion, that which is so recondite in its origin, and so remote from mechanism, presents a beautiful system of animal mechanics, which has its parallel in substances not endowed with vitality, and subjected to other dynamics. We desire to raise our arm from a table, it is willed, and it is done. We desire to grasp a pen, to write a lecture, it is willed, the fingers gather around it, and assume the relation which most facilitates the mechan-

ical operation of writing. Something occurs to make it desirable that we should leave our chair, our room, the house. We will to rise up, it is done, to go out of the room, it follows, to leave the house, it takes place. Now, in all this, although it is rapid, there is involved much action of matter, wonderful operations are going on, and every thing must be performed with the most unerring accuracy. Every part must be perfect, the mind itself must be sound, and then, and only then, will the results be reached. The mind, too, powerfully controls the senses, if not directly, yet indirectly; however certain the effect on the sense is, when its appropriate excitant is present, yet it is certain, that its power of affecting the mind is lost, unless the mind wills that it should. How necessary attention is to the due discharge of the vocation of the senses, is well known, and how dependent this is on the mind, every one knows.

It is found that the mind has a powerful influence upon the animal appetites, quickening or suspending them, temporarily, and that too, by voluntary efforts, not directed, it is true, at once to them, but directed to other things, by which it ceases to heed their calls, or directed to them, by which they become augmented in power. It is when we look at phenomena of this character, so numerous, and so remote from cavil, that we think of man as nearly related to the great author of all things. It is said in the Bible, that God created man in his own image. Much has been written in explanation of the image of God, in which man was created; different theories have been broached and promulgated. Leaving out of view the moral image, and restricting ourselves to what may be considered the precise relation of the mind to matter, may we not find much of the image of God in this? The general idea which we would derive from the statement, would be that man was like God; there is a closer resemblance between him and man, than between him and other creatures which are not made in his image. As the moral attributes of God are those which constitute his peculiar glory, and man is a moral being, much of this image may be, as it is by the best interpreters of Scripture, considered as residing in moral qualities, but that does not exclude the other view, which presents man to us as an inferior deity, as in a limited sphere, very limited sphere certainly, certainly exceedingly limited, if compared with the sphere of the divine operations, sustaining relations to what has been called the microcosm, the little world, the body, as the great Father of all does to the macrocosm. We conceive of the

deity as the great mind, controlling at its pleasure all matter, marshalling for its purposes, directing, restraining, letting it out, in a word, making it his most submissive servant ; rapidly moving at his every nod. And this he does self-moved, or with a perfect freedom. So is it with man ; his mind enthroned in the body, he considers it his domain, and he uses it, roused by motives under no irresistible constraint, but in the exercise of a self-determining power. He says to one part of it, go, and it goeth ; and to another, come, and it cometh.

We proceed to the less ordinary effects. We must refer now to what metaphysicians call the sentient part of our nature ; the emotions, passions, affections, and likewise the imagination.

No one who is acquainted with this part of our constitution, can fail to have noticed how powerful it is in its influence upon the body. Confining ourselves within the limits of what is frequent, and salutary, there is much, and it is diversified. Some of the exercises of our sensitive nature or passions, using it in a broad sense, to express the variously modified manifestations of it, are exciting, stimulating, they impart an additional impulse to the vital operations, others are sedative, they lower, they depress the same operations. Under the influence of some, the blood circulates more rapidly, it is more frequently brought into contact with the atmosphere, breathing is rendered quicker, the important pulmonary processes are more rapidly produced ; the nervous energy is more largely developed, animal appetites are increased ; the various secretions are augmented, and the entire process of assimilation is carried on more expeditiously. The countenance is ruddy, the eyes sparkle, and every sense is in quick and lively exercise, and by a reflex influence, the mind itself is elevated to its utmost acuteness and power. Others again operate differently, under their influence the body trembles, the heart beats languidly, the circulation is hemmed, the peripheral action is lowered, the countenance is pale, the eye is languid, the secretions are diminished, the appetite is impaired, digestion is imperfect, the entire system becomes prostrated, and the mind again sharing in the very effects which it has produced, becomes listless, loses its energy, is indisposed to act, acts feebly. Each passion has its specific influence. The general effects of some may be alike, but there are modifications, which characterize each. Love and anger may both excite, but the excitement is much more equable and salutary in the one case than the other. Fear and grief may both depress, but they operate differently. Fear more rapidly, violently ; grief more slowly and gently ; both tending to unfavorable issues ; the one instantaneously, the

other after a long interval. Imagination, too, has a most powerful influence upon us. It may be said often to give "to airy nothing a local habitation and a name." It sees what has no existence, beholds spectres and goblins, where there is nothing, it hears where there are no atmospheric vibrations, it feels where there is nothing to excite the sensation of touch. This connects itself very naturally with the whole subject of supernatural appearances, or as they are vulgarly called, ghosts. The question has often been asked, both by philosophers and those who are not philosophers, by good men and by bad, can the dead reappear in this world? do they reappear? are there well authenticated cases of their reappearance. The fashion is at once to say with a confident air, such things are the mere phantoms, there are no ghosts. There are many, however, now, as there were in the days of the celebrated author of Rasselas, who, whilst they deny them with their tongues, confess them by their fears. Some, in their zeal against supernatural appearances, pronounce the story of the Witch of Endor, as narrated in the Bible, to be a sheer piece of legerdemain, the woman to have been a ventriloquist, and the appearance of Samuel the merest humbug. Now we don't think so. We know nothing to render the reappearance of the dead impossible; we do not so read the passage in question, as to consider it dubious, whether Samuel really appeared. It was certainly very singular, but not incredible. It was miraculous, but not more so than other things recorded in the Bible, and believed by every christian; there was an end to be accomplished by it, and that not unimportant. In the possibility of ghosts, we have no doubt; neither philosophy nor our religion enters its protest against them. In their antecedent probability, under ordinary circumstances, we do not hesitate to say that, both our philosophy and our religion are against it, but yet there may be supernatural appearances. It will resolve itself, then, into a question of fact. Many great men, and many good men believed in ghosts. "Thousands of years," says a writer in the Christian Observer, "have been insufficient either to contravene the belief, or to establish the fact, of the re-appearance of the dead. It is unnecessary to state the universality of the belief in the reality of their appearance. Bacon, Boyle, Addison, and Johnson, were all apostles of the doctrine; and with them may be associated the gravest divines, the sternest judges, philosophers, scholars, poets, politicians, and warriors; a Socrates, a Sir Matthew Hale, a Tasso, a Brutus."

The writings of Stilling, in Germany, and particularly his well known *Theorie der Geister-kunde*, containing numerous and apparently well authenticated cases, have given great currency, amongst his numerous readers and admirers, to the belief that there are reappearances from the world of spirits. It would be utterly untenable to assume, that all these narratives are impostures or fabrications. It would be to fly into the face of the clearest testimony and the most credible witnesses. We must, if we do not interpret their appearance as others have done, we must explain them, and after all, our solution will be but partially satisfactory. It has been shown that spectral appearances may sometimes be explained by morbid physical conditions, and that remedies addressed to the body will dissipate them. Now we may call in a highly excited imagination to explain other cases; fear, expectation, hope, ordinary physical phenomena, inadequately appreciated by the senses, may solve other cases, and induce us to conclude, not that the narrator of the marvel is a liar, but that he has been imposed upon by his heated fancy. Guilt combined with remorse may paint in the air till the eye seems to see it, and the ear to hear it; the instrument and likewise the victim of wonder. Powerful illustrations of this, may be found in that great painter of the passions, Shakespeare:

"Is this a dagger which I see before me,
The handle towards my hand? Come let me clutch thee.
I have thee not, and yet I see thee still.
Art thou not, fatal vision, sensible
To feeling, as to sight? or art thou but
A dagger of the mind; a false creation,
Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain?
I see thee yet, in form as palpable,
As this which now I draw.
Thou marshals'lt me the way that I was going;
And such an instrument I was to use.
Mine eyes are made the fools o' the other senses,
Or else worth all the rest. I see thee still;
And on thy blade and dudgeon, gouts of blood,
Which was not so before. There's no such thing:
It is the bloody business, which informs
Thus to mine eyes. Now o'er the one half world
Nature seems dead, and wicked dreams abuse
The curtain'd sleep; now witchcraft celebrates
Pale Hecate's offerings; and wither'd murder,
Alarm'd by his sentinel, the wolf,
Whose howls his watch, thus with his stealthy pace
With Tarquin's ravishing strides, towards his design
Moves like a ghost. Thou sure and firm set earth,
Hear not my steps, which way they walk, for fear
The very stones prate of my whereabout,
And take the present horror from the time,
Which now suits with it. While I threat, he lives,
Words to the heat of deeds too cold breath gives."

Other solutions of these appearances may be given, which will, no doubt, explain some cases; we suppose imagination has had much to do with many. The opinion has been extensively entertained, that what are technically called *nævi materni*, depend very much upon the imagination of the mother upon the fetus. They are certainly very singular appearances, in their great variety, but they are not yet, we presume, reducible to any theory which would find universal acceptance, amongst those best qualified to judge.

We proceed to the influence of the mind on the body, in producing disease. It might be expected that the influence of the mind upon the body, as it is very great, would sometimes, and particularly when either excessive or defective, operate injuriously. The same agents, which are employed to produce desirable effects, and which do produce them, within certain limits, may be productive of very opposite effects beyond those limits. It is so with the mind. The most natural, and the most innocent influence, may be made unnatural and destructive. Take for instance the passions, which have been introduced as exciting, and elevating all the vital functions; yet if they be too intense, they disorder and produce morbid action. So those which, in their very nature tend to depress vital power, do so just in the ratio in which they are intense or long indulged. Sometimes the mind may be the sole cause of functional derangement, or disease, at other times it may be merely a predisposing cause.

Sometimes it may, by its agency, give energy to morbid causes, which the animal fibre would otherwise resist, at others the diseased action may be introduced, and be armed with additional power by the mind. Sometimes the disease itself may disturb the natural flow of the mind, and then by a repercutive influence the mind may avenge itself, by giving additional virulence to the disease. There is, too, a numerous class of diseases, in which the mind is the principal seat. We mean the various forms of mental derangement. Without pretending to determine the philosophy of the singular phenomena, displayed by the mind in its abnormal movements, for we presume that even professional science is often nonplussed here, and therefore amateur science may well be modest, we suppose we shall incur no serious hostility, if we ascribe many mental diseases to the mind itself. We do not suppose that the mind of man can really be diseased, considered in itself. It appears to us that every one who denies the materiality of the human soul, and this is the view which we unhesitatingly

adopt, can consider the mind, a simple indivisible essence, capable of morbid action; but any phenomena referable to this category, must be looked upon as the result of some imperfection or disease in the organic instrument, with which it is so closely connected, and by which it acts. Adopting this as a correct theory, it will not follow, that all mental diseases are of physical or corporeal origin. It may, in some instances, be clear, that no other origin can be ascribed to them, but in others it is equally clear, that it is the mind itself, too intensely exerted, too violently agitated by passion, too severely touched by calamity, which must be considered the first impulsive power in the diseased result, and it may be, and we presume it is, by deranging the body, producing physical disease, by which it, in itself, subsequently suffers.

We have not found, in our examination of medical works, any very extended or comprehensive survey of the influence of the mind on the body. There are scattered here and there, in physiological systems and works on pathology, as well as disease in general, occasional references, and the mind is spoken of as exerting both a power of derangement and of cure. In Schubart's work, entitled *Geschichte der Seele*—History of the Soul—there are some interesting details on this subject. In Dr. J. Mason Goode's *Study of Medicine*, in the fourth volume, which treats in part of mental diseases, there are illustrations of the power of the passions in producing mental disorders. We shall make some use of both. The influence of the soul is most observable in those parts which come under the notice of the senses. Schirrous tumors and the aggravation of wounds, according to the testimony of physicians, are the result of the mind. Mental emotion has, in several instances, produced, and sometimes in the course of a single night, an entire change in the color of the hair. The iris of the eye has been changed by the same influence. The alarming disease called Epilepsy, has often been produced by mental emotion. In many instances, well authenticated, this form of convulsions has been communicated, as by a contagious power, from one person to another, so that numbers, and it must have been through the medium of the mind, have been affected. We entertain no doubt that some of those singular manifestations, under religious excitement, which have occurred in our own and other countries, are to be explained upon the same principle. One subject has radiated the influence around, till many were overcome. Fevers and plagues have been ascribed, by the ablest physicians, to depression of spirits. Dropsy, combined with disease of the liver, has been ascribed by Morgagni and others,

to sorrow and care. Boerhave, Sydenham, and Van Swieten, ascribe palsy and gout to anger and angry emotions. Although the theory advocated by an American physician, in regard to that frightful disease called hydrophobia, viz: that it is purely a mental disease, and arises from the imagination, has generally been regarded as untenable; it is, we think, not at all improbable, that the mind has much to do with it. There are many instances too, in which death has been produced instantaneously, by strong mental affections.

Unexpected intelligence, joyful or the contrary, an unexpected sight, either pleasant or disagreeable, have produced sudden death. The influence of the passions, both exciting and depressing, is very marked. We can only furnish an illustration or two, which we will take from Goode's Study of Medicine. He says, volume fourth, under the head of *Neurotica*: "The instances of derangement produced by a sudden fit or immoderate flow of joy, are numerous, and not difficult to account for. As this impassioned emotion, when indulged with a rampant domination over the judgment, is a direct stimulus of a very powerful kind, acting not only on the nerves, but on every part of the body, it cannot take place without producing great sensorial exhaustion, and consequently, cannot be persevered in without remissions of languor and lassitude, like the effects of intoxication from strong wine or spirits. The misfortune is, that when the elevating faculties of the mind, and especially the imagination, are once let loose, by the operation of this passion, and both run wild together, the mental excitement will sometimes continue after the strength of the body is completely prostrated. And when this strength is sufficiently recruited for the external senses to convey once more to the perception, true and lively impressions of the objects that surround them, the perception, which has been also morbidly affected by the violence of impassioned paroxysms, will not receive or convey them in a true state, and a permanent derangement is the consequence. Cardan gives the case of an artisan of Milan, who having had the good luck to find an instrument that formerly belonged to Archimedes, ran mad with the fit of transport into which he was hereby thrown: and Plutarch, in his life of Artaxerxes, has a like story of a soldier who, having had the high honor of wounding Cyrus in a battle, became so overjoyed, that he lost his wits from the moment. Boerhave and Van Swieten relate cases of epilepsy that followed from the same cause. "The passion of avarice," says the same writer, "has not a stirring property of any kind belonging to it, but benumbs and chills every energy of the

body, as well as the soul, like the stream of Lethe, even the imagination is rendered cold and stagnant, and the only passions with which it forms a confederacy, are the miserable train of gloomy fear, suspician and anxiety. The body grows thin in the midst of wealth, the limbs totter, though surrounded by cordials, and the man voluntarily starves himself in the granary of plenty, not from a want of appetite, but from a dread of giving way to it. The individual who is in such a state of mind, must be estranged upon this point, however much he may be at home upon others. Yet these are cases that are daily occurring, and have been in all ages: though perhaps one of the most curious, is that related by Valerius Maximus, of a miser, who took advantage of a famine, to sell a mouse for two hundred pence, and then famished himself, with the money in his pocket. And hence the madness of the covetous man has been a subject of sarcasm and ridicule by moralists and dramatic writers in every period, of which we have sufficient examples in the writings of Aristophanes, Lucian, and Moliere."

That the mind exerts much influence upon the body in sickness, is well known, and the facts are so numerous, that they come under the observation of every one. It is not necessary, in an article like this, to go into any detail upon a subject which presents very copious materials. Disease is often augmented by the action of the mind; apprehension of an unfavorable result, erroneous views in regard to the character of the disease, want of confidence in remedial agents, want of confidence in the medical attendant; all conspire to an unfavorable result. Disease is increased by the sympathy of friends operating upon the patient, and exciting the depressing passions. It is increased by misfortunes, which occur during its continuance. It is increased by mortality which prevails around. On the other hand, it is diminished by every thing that tends to tranquilize the mind, to calm its apprehensions, to subdue its fears. The judicious physician endeavors to allay mental excitement, to repress influences calculated to agitate, to inspire confidence, and his success in this contributes, he knows, very materially, to a happy issue.

It is very remarkable, but admitting of such ample proof, that scepticism can have no footing, that powerful emotions, such as have produced disease, and even death, have violently ejected it from the system, after other means had been tried in vain. Touching for scrofula, or scrofulous affections in general, for which the kings of France obtained so much celebrity, although neither our philosophy nor our republicanism would

predispose to ascribe any unusual power to royal hands; although originating in contemptible superstition, yet no doubt had influence, for physicians tell us that this was the fact; but whatever efficacy may have been associated with the mysterious touch, must have originated entirely from the mind of the subject, credulous and deluded. It is particularly true, that convulsions in general, and particularly epileptic convulsions, so often originating in powerful mental emotions, have been removed in the same way. The case which occurred in the Harlem Orphan-house, under the care of the great Boerhave, has often been quoted, and it is, indeed, very striking and illustrative of what we say. The case was that of epilepsy spreading itself extensively amongst the children by sympathy from a single sufferer. Other remedies having failed to produce a cure, he provided instruments of iron, and heated them to a red heat in the presence of the children, and then commanded the officers to burn every child that was attacked. The effect was perfect. The terror inspired, banished the disease. Similar means have been used for ages. Pliny mentions a remedy for epilepsy which, says Schubert, has not yet lost its reputation. It is drinking the blood of a person who has just suffered a violent death. Fear, horror, must be regarded as the principle here, and many other similar remedies mentioned by Pliny and Aretæus for this disease. We dare not venture into this field; it is too broad, and facts are almost without number. It may be remarked, that when fearful pestilence is spreading over our land, although no human precaution may be able to prevent, in all cases, its attack, yet amongst the best prophylactics, and not without professional recommendation, a mind calm, unruffled by fear, trusting firmly in God, the protector of the just, softened and subdued by the hallowing influence of our holy religion, may justly be regarded as amongst the most efficient. Not only may we commend its preventive power, but likewise its sanative. The Psalmist knew well, and experienced fully its energy. Speaking of God as the refuge of men, he says: "Surely he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and the noisome pestilence. He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust: his truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flyeth by day; nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness; nor for the destruction that wasteth at noon-day. A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee."

There has been a reference to the mind as active in producing mental diseases, and it may be said to be equally potent in removing them. Human effort has been rewarded with far more success during the most recent decennia of time, than it formerly was, in the relief of those who labored under that severe calamity, the deprivation of reason, of which Dr. Johnson, who seems all his life to have been upon the verge of it, spoke in terms like these: "Of all the uncertainties of our present state, the most formidable is the uncertain continuance of reason." The improved methods of modern medicine may be said, with sufficient accuracy for our present purpose, to be the abandonment of the severe physical treatment, and the recourse to moral influences. Formerly the practice seemed to be based upon the opinion that maniacs, having ceased to be rational, must be treated like brutes. Now they are addressed and managed like rational beings, and the superiority of the treatment has been shown, both in this country and in Europe, by a most gratifying success. Dr. Goode, speaking of Ecphronia Mania, which he defines, "The discrepancy between the perception and the judgment general; great excitement of the mental, sometimes of the corporeal powers, and which he divides into the following varieties:

- a. Ferox.—Furious, violent madness.
- b. Exultans.—Gay and elevated madness.
- c. Despondens.—Gloomy, despondent madness.
- d. Demens.—Chaotic madness.

after speaking of the various remedies, says: after all, we have chiefly to depend on moral treatment. He speaks of firmness on the part of the attendant, but at the same time conciliatory manners. Amusements, such as may engage the attention; different mechanical employments, to which the sufferer may have been accustomed. Judicious conversation and cheering advice; regular attendance on religious service. Changing the scene, diverting the mind from its delusion, &c. We must abstain from details; they are not needed, and the principle is all that we desire to evolve, and for this purpose, the limits given will suffice.

We are naturally led to observe, after what has been said, that man is a most wonderful being. The mind particularly gives to him a great preëminence, and distinguishes him highly. We can soon run through the study of his body, but the mind is an inexhaustible theme. How imperfectly, after all the investigation to which it has been submitted, do we comprehend it. The particular phase now considered, is worthy

of much attention, and we entertain no doubt that there are mental influences yet undiscovered, which would reward the scientific curiosity of those who shall bring them to light. The subject is not important, merely as a matter of speculation, or abstract truth; it has practical bearings which render it eminently instructive. The influence of mind upon materialism, and secondarily on mind itself, operating either disastrously or beneficially, must convince us, that if the mind is in any degree under our control, and if these effects have any connection with our choice, we ought so to govern and control it, that the evil may be avoided, and the good secured. It cannot be denied that we may, in this way contribute, in no small degree, to our own happiness. Indeed, every thing depends upon this. The body is governed by the mind, and the mind by the will, and we are what we are, by mental regulation. Responsibility is in the mind. It is the source of every thing good and evil. All good can be traced to it. Evil acknowledges no other origin. This is so plain that it needs no further remark. It may be asked, however, how is the mind to be regulated? If, as has been said the mind governs the body, and the will the mind, what governs the will? We answer, it is under the influence of both; not necessarily, but freely. Truth develops the mind, unfolds its faculties, and guides it, or ought to guide it. There is but a single alternative. It must be guided by truth or by error. Properly regulated, controlled by reason, passion subordinated, the appetites in due subjection, the mind is healthful, and its influence is salutary, both in a moral and physical view. It is above every thing else, the purifying truths of the Bible, which repressing all inordinate passions, and softening and subduing the heart, may be looked upon as the great regulator. It is earnestly and sincerely recommended for this purpose, and its efficacy will be fully established in every instance in which it is tried.

ARTICLE VII.

JEPHTHAH'S OFFERING.

By Dr. J. H. Kurtz.

Translated from Rudelbach and Guerike's Zeitschrift.

HENGSTENBERG has attempted,¹ with his wonted acuteness, to prove that Jephthah's vow referred, not to a bloody but to a dedicative offering, and consequently that the daughter of Jephthah was not slain but bound to perpetual service in the sanctuary as a virgin. It must be said in praise of his dissertation, that it commences a new era for the view advocated, both in consequence of its rigorous examination of previous proofs and in the suggestion of new arguments. Its arguments must nevertheless be considered entirely deficient, a decision which cannot be reversed by the frequent favour which has been awarded it.² Hengstenberg wrote his treatise for defensive purposes and with a similar design, the following refutation is prepared, for I hope that apologetics is better served by a simple and unprejudiced admission of that which the text of Scripture so clearly and unequivocally teaches, than by the rejection of it, however plausible it may appear. Hengstenberg begins with the acknowledgment, that the most ancient translators, Josephus and all the Church Fathers, knew no other interpretation than that of a bloody offering. We will not undertake to determine the value of this unanimity.³ But we cannot omit, at least, to express our amazement, that Hengstenberg continues: "although this view was assailed by the other immediately after the rise of correct grammatical historical interpretation, it is true with much imperfection (Moses Kimchi first proposed it,) it was nevertheless able to sustain itself.

¹ Comp. Hengs. *Beiträge zur Einleitung ins alte Testament.* Bd. III. S. 127—148.

² L. Reinke, an estimable Catholic divine, may be cited, who in his contributions to the elucidation of the O. T. (Münster 1851) has devoted 108 pages to this subject, but performing a superfluous service as he uses both the offensive and defensive weapons of Hengstenberg, only adding a copious literary apparatus.

³ There is something naïve in Reinke's assertion S. 423 f.: "We merely mention that it is our belief, that our views of Jephthah's vow would have received the sanction of the Fathers, if they had known it, and if they had believed, that the text offered no difficulty." But they did not believe it.

But we proceed to the subject itself. Jephthah's vow was (Judges 11, 30, 31): "And Jephthah vowed a vow unto the Lord, and said, If thou shalt without fail deliver the children of Ammon into mine hands, then it shall be, that whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer up for a burnt offering. Eng. Translation,¹ (נָאַת מִלְּפָנֵי יְהוָה). It is true, that "whosoever" is often translated, whatsoever comes out of my house first and this is explained, that Jephthah hoped an animal would come forth. The confutation of this translation and explanation will not cause much trouble. Hengstenberg has done it so energetically and fully that we can do nothing better than to make use of his words: 1. "Jephthah vowed the first that approached him from his house. If he thought of herds, the house of the prince of Gilead must have been a kind of Noah's ark. Men and women and cattle in one room, going in and out at one door, in addition the foddering of cattle. This cannot be thought of. All that we know of the arrangement of Hebrew houses contradicts this. 2. The coming towards does not apply to beasts, of which it is not used, but only to human beings, to whom it more certainly applies, because it is at once referred to Jephthah's daughter. 3. The vow of a single animal in relation to so great a victory, is too insignificant. Pfeiffer correctly remarks (dub. vex. S. 356,) it would be well calculated to remind one of the parturient montes, if he had said to God give me this victory and the first calf that approaches me shall be offered to thee as a burnt offering, as Jephthah without a vow would have presented not one but many sacrifices. 4. The vow of Jephthah evidently refers to the Israelitish custom Exod. 15, 20, that women and particularly virgins should receive the returning conqueror with songs, music and dances. The existence of this usage appears from the example of Jephthah's daughter herself and then from 1 Sam. 18, 6. 5. It is not at all explicable how Jephthah should according to this explanation, have conceived his vow. It is entirely arbitrary that he should propose to offer the first that met him. Why did he not at once vow the best of his herds? The outward must have something internal corresponding to it and this is found in regarding *וּמָן* (that coming out) as a person. Jephthah lays stress on the first appearing

¹ Wenn Du mir die Kinder Ammon in meine Hand gibst, so soll der Herausgehende, welcher herausgeht aus der Thür meines Hauses mir entgegen, wenn ich in Frieden zurückkehre von den Kindern Ammon, dem Herrn sein und ich will ihn opfern zum Brandopfer. Germ. Trans.

because this (Comp. John 20, 4.) is a manifestation of love, so that he as love is reciprocal, declares himself willing to consecrate to the Lord the most beloved.

The vow must be received personally, even though we reject the killing of Jephthah's daughter and assume, that Jephthah thought indeed of his daughter, as it was most probable, that she who loved him most tenderly, would first approach him, but just in this lies the greatness of the vow, at the same time he hoped, that God would be satisfied with the proposition to give him that which required the highest self-denial, but would not require this of him and would so order, that what was least to be expected would occur and that not she, but one of his most favorite slaves would appear."

We regard the foregoing argument as conclusive. But we cannot go further. The continuation we entirely discard.

Hengstenberg now, as he says, prepares the view entertained by him for the contest by providing it with new arms. We will examine these.

First in the words: and he shall be the Lord's and I will offer him as a burnt offering, the two explanations diverge.

The one explains quite literally, the other figuratively with applying the principle *Talia sunt praedicata, qualia permittuntur a suis subjectis.* (The predicates corresponds to the subject.) I will present him as a burnt offering, in such a consecration of persons to God, as corresponds to a burnt offering in beasts, therefore as an entire, unreserved, life-long dedication. This reasoning would be overwhelming, if it did not take for granted, what must be proved. It assumes that Jephthah's views were those of the law, and that he regarded the bloody offering of a human being as irreconcileable with the true idea of a sacrifice, as the law-giver of Israel did.

A second defect, which must be removed, before this view can be adopted, consists in this, proceeds the author, that its advocates did not know how to connect the consecration of Jephthah's daughter with other fixed facts of Israelite Antiquity.

A firm footing is obtained, when it is proved that a commencement has been made in the direction of monastic life under the old covenant, that it was a special custom, that women dedicated themselves, or were dedicated, to the Lord. We encounter here the very essence of Hengstenberg's discussion, and must therefore prepare for a thorough investigation and a most careful appreciation.

At the outset, our author makes use of Levit. 27, 1—8, according to which (?) it was customary to devote oneself, or his dependants, to God by a vow. But this passage of the law

does not answer. For the personal vows here designated, are such as can be, and must be released. This law recognizes the vowed, not only of animals, but likewise of human beings, prohibits the sacrifice of the latter, and requires their redemption by money. Jephthah's vow cannot at all belong here. Most willingly would the victorious and powerful chief of Gilead have paid ten, a hundred-fold, the ransom, which the law required, if he had been pervaded by the spirit of the law, and if this had been the basis of his vow. This incongruence did not escape Hengstenberg. He says: "In this regulation, it is true, a sum is prescribed, by which release from the personal fulfilment of the law could be obtained; but the nature of the case involved, that many, in their religious zeal, would, in the assumption of the vow, cut themselves off from this privilege." In the designation of the offering, in Jephtha's vow, as a burnt offering (*holocaust*) the privilege of redemption was most likely foregone. But the law does not speak as Hengstenberg does, of a possible release, but of a necessary, it contains not a privilege, but a command. Levit. 27 distinguishes three kinds of things which can be consecrated to the Lord: 1. Such as from their nature (*in natura*) are presented at the sanctuary, or are appropriated to it, but which can be substituted by a ransom. Houses, lands, &c., may be mentioned, likewise unclean animals, i. e., such as could not be sacrificed. The first were, when not redeemed, the property of the sanctuary, but the last, of the priests (v. 12). In the enumeration of these instances (v. 13, 15, 19, 31) the permission is each time expressly added, as well as the condition of release. 2. Such as from their nature (*in natura*) must be presented, but could not be redeemed; here belong all animals which could be sacrificed; and 3. Such as did not (*in natura*) pertain to the sanctuary, but must, in any event, be redeemed; here belong consecrated persons. Were the sense of the law, that it was left to the choice of the offerer to determine between an offering in the proper sense, and a release by money, this would certainly have been as definitely expressed as in v. 13, 15, 19, 31. The argument of Hengstenberg here loses all foundation. Should the author respond, the vow in Levit. 27, 2—8 has experienced a destiny, similar to the Nazarite vow, which the law merely recognizes as temporary, but which, however, the piety of later times (Sampson, Samuel, &c.) voluntarily oftentimes extended through life; this evasion must be rejected as untenable, on two grounds: 1. The law of Nazaritism, Num. 6, leaves the way open for such an extension, and contains nothing at all opposite, exclu-

sive; the law in Levit. 27, 2—8, is so adjusted in the premises, that such a supposed exaltation essentially contradicts it, and is inadmissible; and 2. According to Hengstenberg (see below), the already existing institution of women serving the tabernacle, proves the existence of a personal consecration extended through life. Supposing this, the life-long, irredeemable personal consecration was already in existence, known and practiced, the necessity was, therefore, the greater, that the law in Levit. 27, 2—8 must take notice of the alternative of redemption or non-redemption. That and how the law took cognizance of such voluntary extension or prolongation of personal obligations, the law in Exod. 21: 5, 6, and Deut. 15: 16, 17, shows where it is allowed the Hebrew slave who was to serve seven years, to extend voluntarily his service through life.

Levit. 27—28 can render no service. Next the Nazarite law Num. 6, enters the lists. The author lays special stress on v. 2, which allows women to take the Nazarite vow, and then he advances to the position that it is both natural and necessary that the Nazarite vow, which was temporary by law, should become unrestricted (Sampson and Samuel). Neither moves us. For neither has the Nazarite vow any thing to do with the personal vow in Lev. 27, and still less is the offering of Jephthah's daughter (taken in Hengstenberg's sense) a Nazarite vow. The first is very obvious, for that which is vowed in Lev. 27, can and must be redeemed; the Nazarite's vow cannot and should not be, it must be fulfilled with unconditional punctuality. That Jephthah's was not a Nazarite vow, is clear as the sun. If he had contemplated this, he would assuredly have taken cognizance, as carefully and distinctly of its peculiarities, in the assumption of it, as was done in the Nazarite vow of Sampson (Judges 13: 4, 5, 7), Samuel (1 Sam. 1: 11) and John the Baptist (Luke 1: 15). In the law Num. 6, there is not the least difference, made between the duties of the male and female Nazarite, all the regulations apply to both, and the wife, as little as the husband, has anything special assigned or rendered obligatory.

There is not the slightest trace of a special obligation for a female Nazarite to remain unmarried, or to avoid sexual intercourse (if, when she assumed the vow she was married). If the male Nazarite could marry during the period of his vow, and perform marital duties, and Hengstenberg cannot deny this, the woman, as a Nazarite, nothing differing, could do the same. But according to Hengstenberg, the obligation to such an abstinence is the main thing. This, then, is the leading

point, but not, as Hengstenberg would persuade himself and us, that the temporary enactment concerning vows in the law could, and should extend to life, and had actually; to counteract which, is neither our object, nor necessary. As the Nazarite vow does not belong here, we may dismiss it without the enquiry, whether Hengstenberg's representations of it, as monastic, accord with its design, or whether the fundamental idea of it was death to the world, and life to God.

The author now brings out his heavy artillery. Let us see whether our interpretation must strike sail before this.

In Exod. 38: 8, there is a cursory notice in connection with the account of the preparation of the tabernacle and its utensils, by Bezaleel and Aholiab: "And he made the laver of brass, and the foot of it of brass, of the looking-glasses of the women assembling, which assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation."¹ This transient notice, our author says, is of great moment. That the institution here presented, did not terminate with the Mosaic period, as might be thought, as it is nowhere introduced by laws, commanded or recommended, that it, on the other hand, continued through the whole period of the Judges, we see in 1 Sam. 2: 22, a passage which refers to the same period in which Jephthah's vow occurred.

Amongst the grievous offences of the sons of Eli was this, that they cohabited with the women who "served at the door of the Tabernacle," a designation taken literally from Exod. 38: 8, to show that the institution which they profaned in this way, was venerable for its age, and had originated under the eyes of the lawgiver. That this institution continued till New Testament times, is proved by Luke 2: 37, where it is said of Hannah: She was aged, and a widow eighty-four years, and never left the temple, and served God with fasting and prayer, day and night. Further indeed, 1 Tim. 5: 5 (and she that is a widow truly, hopes in God, and continues day and night in prayer) has reference to the same institution. We waive, in the first instance, the New Testament proofs, which are more than doubtful, to turn our attention to the Old Testament, which alone can decide. We ask then, with right: Where is the evidence in Exod. 38, 1 Sam. 2, that the women served at the door of the tabernacle, in virtue of a vow?

¹ Germ. Und er machte die Becken von Erz, und sein Gestell von Erz, aus den Spiegeln der dienenden (Weiber), welche dienten un der Thür des Stiftthitte.

Where is the proof that it was to continue through life? Where the evidence that they were bound to virginity, or to a life of celibacy? All this the interpreter has, entirely from his own resources, without any warrant from the text, brought to it and arbitrarily inserted. That the serving of the women at the door of the tabernacle, in Exod. 38, and 1 Sam. 2, was the fulfilling of a vow, Hengstenberg infers from the combination, or rather mixture of these passages with Levit. 27, and Numb. 6. But it is clear that these passages are heterogeneous, and consequently there is no justification for this. Levit. 27 directs a personal vow to be redeemed by money, there cannot, in this case, be anything like a serving of the tabernacle, in Hengstenberg's sense. In Num. 6, the duties of a Nazarite are minutely and fully described; but nothing is said about serving at the door of the tabernacle; Exod. 38, on the other hand, refers to women, who serve at the sanctuary, but it is nowhere said, that this was in consequence of a vow; and that this was the result of a Nazarite vow, is purely imaginary, for we do not find any where the least evidence of the peculiarities of a Nazarite vow.

But conceded that Hengstenberg is right, and the serving women were Nazarites, it would not follow that there was here a case of obligation to a life-long and unbroken service, and still less of an obligation to a perpetual celibacy. The Nazarites, it is known, could marry; neither marriage, if they were unmarried when they assumed the vow, nor cohabitation, if they were married, was prohibited. Hengstenberg himself refers to the case of Samuel, who, notwithstanding his life-long Nazariat, married and begat children, without prejudice to it. "But, he says, it is very hasty, when, without more ado, we apply to women what only belongs to men." From this it must be supposed, that in the law men, but not women, had the right of marriage. But this is not the fact. The law which knows no difference between the male and female Nazarite, making of both the same requisitions, says nothing about marriage; neither prohibits nor allows it, obviously because the last was indisputable, and the first was in direct opposition to the spirit of the law.

But Hengstenberg aims to convince us that, from the nature of the case, and the position of the woman, the celibacy of the Nazarite woman was necessary. "Marriage was irreconcilable with her vow; that only unmarried, whether virgins or widows, could consecrate themselves to the service of the sanctuary, and therefore those who assumed the vow as virgins must remain so." The proof of this confident assertion is:

"A woman who is subject to her husband (Num., 5, 29; Rom., 7, 2) cannot devote herself to the exclusive service of the Lord ; she must receive in order to give." Comp. 1 Cor. 1, 34. But how could this constitute a difference between a male and female Nazarite ? Certainly if the state of the case were thus, that the idea of Nazaritism is incompatible with husband and wife and parents, and begetting and bearing children ; that, in addition, the male Nazarite, as well as the female, in the assumption of the vow and during its continuance, must abstain from cohabitation, then the argument might be of weight.¹ At the low stand point which the law still took in regard to marriage, man and wife did not enjoy equal rights. The man is in marriage *sui juris*, but not the woman ; he may, without the consent of his wife, assume a vow by which her claims upon him may be lessened or suspended, but she has not the same right ; a married man might oblige himself in a vow which precluded for a time or permanently cohabitation, but a married woman could not, so long as she was not divorced. But Hengstenberg admits that this is not the state of the case. A male Nazarite can cohabit, can provide for a family, without breaking his Nazarite vow or impairing it. Why should not this hold in the case of a Nazarite woman ? Why should the Nazariat forbid to the woman what it denies to the man ?

The woman, whether wife or daughter, was not *sui juris*, as the man was. In consequence of this, by a wise regulation of the law, (Num., 30, 4, 17,) the vow of a wife or daughter was valid only when the father or husband expressly or by implication gave his assent. A married woman has as little right as an unmarried virgin to assume a Nazarite or any other vow.

The Old Testament was very far from regarding celibacy as meritorious, or giving a preference to the single over the married state, or in general ascribing to it religious value ; even the relative value which Paul, in 1 Cor. 7, ascribes to it, was not brought to view or asserted in the Old Testament ; marri-

¹The legal prescription in Lev., 15, 18, by which sexual intercourse in both parties is made unclean till evening, and for this period excluded from the service of the sanctuary, would afford better proof than the Nazarite vow of the necessity of celibacy in women serving the tabernacle. But this applies, too, to Priests and Levites who served the sanctuary, it is true, not continually, but in changing companies. But why may we not assume the same in regard to serving women ? Where is it written that men, without interruption, day and night, year by year, served the sanctuary, and that they could never intermit it ? The monthly menstruation of the women made it necessary that they should be unclean at least seven days, and not during this time approach the door of the sanctuary.

age was regarded by the Old Testament Israelite as immeasurably higher than celibacy ; marriage and its accompanying blessing had a religious significance ; it was a leading factor in the covenant development, in the fulfilment of prophecy, and this view was impressed upon the Israelite mind by the cardinal prophecy, " In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." The single state had not the least religious signification. Children were regarded as the greatest gift of God, the want of them the greatest misfortune, indeed as a reproach, an affliction, a divine punishment.

Hengstenberg says, indeed, " We see in Matt. 19, 12, ('some are eunuchs, who have made themselves so for the kingdom of heaven's sake,') that already, under the Old Testament dispensation, in single instances men remained unmarried in order to prosecute the work of God more zealously and uninterruptedly." But he entirely overlooks that this applies to the transition period from the old to the new covenant, namely, to the time of our Lord himself, in which in Essenism and Therapeutism such a tendency appeared, which was entirely unknown before the exile. That this tendency was relatively or subjectively justified, is derivable from Christ's assertion, but it does not at all prove that this tendency had already attained a solid footing under the old covenant. Hengstenberg rests his main argument on the meaning of *שִׁבְעָת*, the serving before the door of the tabernacle. He says : *שִׁבְעָת* means serving in the military sense. In the figurative sense it stands for the militia sacra of the Priests and Levites, (Num. 4, 23, 35, 39, 43; 8, 25.) The leader and the standard-bearer is the God of Israel. At the side of this male, holy, a female militia marches, and this choice of the term shows that we have before us an extensive, important, formally-organized institution. It is not implied in this expression that the women had any mechanical duties about the tabernacle ; it was merely inferred from an improper reference to the use of the German word for serving, (*dienens*), and must be questioned, assuredly. Neither the law nor the history recognizes any service of women at the sanctuary in this sense."

According to this, *שִׁבְעָת* imports not an external but an internal service—not a service with the hands and feet, but a service with the heart ! Of what character was the service of the Priests and Levites. Was this, too, purely internal, consisting solely in prayer and fasting, or was it not rather outward, of all kinds of physical operations, purification, washing, killing, offering, sprinkling, burning incense, &c ? The priests did this surely with the hands, and not alone with the heart. If

the service of the Priests and Levites, this militia sacerdotalis, was beyond dispute an external one, a service with hands and feet, why could it not have been the same with these women? A participation in the proper functions of the priesthood would not have been assigned them. But the Levites were excluded from them, and yet their work was a service, *κατέβοιλαν*. We see from this that the operations which did not directly belong to the divine worship, but contributed to preparation for it, were characterized as *κατέβοιλαν*. Certainly this word, as Hengstenberg correctly asserts, means primarily a military service—a Cultus, also, a militia sacra; but he leaves out of view entirely the more profound unity between the two meanings, which the word serve (*dienen*) has in German, and not here alone.¹ Further, the bodily external service of the women at the door of the tabernacle could and should, as well as the bodily outward service of the Levites and Priests at the same place, be an expression of the internal service, and expressive of an obedient disposition towards the king, whose dwelling was there. As the priests did this by sprinkling of blood and incense, as the Levites did it by subordinate minor aids, thus were the women to do in the sphere of activity suited to them. Hengstenberg, however, refers to Luke, 2, 37, where it is said of Hannah, in clear, explicit terms, *οὐαὶ δημόσῳ λαρυγόνῳ νύνεα καὶ ἡμέρᾳ*. To this we answer: I. There is no evidence that Hannah was a member of the women's institution; especially, it is not susceptible of proof that this institution, if it is thus to be named, continued in existence till Christ's time; yea, it is very improbable, as there is nowhere mention made of it. May this not warrant the conjecture that the licentiousness of the sons of Eli was the occasion of the abolition of the service of the women, which had been practiced till then, but had no divine warrant, but merely a divine permission? And is not Samuel's reformation a ready means of its revocation?² 2. Distinguere tem-

¹The standing expression for serving God, both of the people and the Priests and Levites, is *κατέβοιλαν*, in which evidently the two meanings of the German word 'dienen' are united. Why should this not be the case with *κατέβοιλαν*? And if the *κατέβοιλαν* of the Priests and Levites could be called an *ταῦτα* or *ταῦτα*, why should not the *κατέβοιλαν* of the women of the sanctuary be so called?

²We need not be more surprised that nothing is said about the abolition, than that nothing is said about the introduction. Both are explained by this, that it was an unimportant subordinate institution, which had no divine origin or sanction. Hengstenberg's interpretation renders it necessary that it should be a very important, highly significant regulation, and it was of course brought before us, on account of the term *κατέβοιλαν* in the first instance, that we were concerned here with "an extensive, important, formally-organized institution." Strange indeed that, existing from Moses to Christ, there is nei-

pora. Hannah lived at a time when the Old Testament service of God was near its completion, when the transition from the strictly symbolic form, which the law had given it, to the worship of God in spirit and truth; a translation, which was provided for by David's temple service, conducted further by the Prophets and completed by Christ and the Apostles, was already not advancing, but directly at or near to its end.

That which at the time of Christ was in vogue and understood, could only by a gross perversion of history be referred to Moses and Samuel. The Old Testament worship, as long as it occupied the purely symbolical position, was merely outwardly symbolical. The internal worship, prayer and fasting belongs to private worship, not to the service of the tabernacle. The worship of the Tabernacle had symbolically to body forth the theocratic piety and typically to enlarge and to complete it.

Although the 70, in Exod. 38, substitute for service, a fasting, and Onkelos, praying, that proves nothing but that both have implicated themselves in the unhistorical presumption of referring devotional exercises of their day to an earlier period.

Hengstenberg says "the institution of serving women (§. 136) has a decidedly ascetic character." He aims to prove this by the bringing of their mirrors, which were used for pleasing the world. If this argument were conclusive, it would prove the worship of the calf in the wilderness had a similar character, for according to Exod. 32, the women and daughters, of the Israelites took the golden ear-rings from their ears and brought them willingly for the preparation of the golden calf. This ornament of gold was too an object of female vanity, was too a means of pleasing the world; which may be the greater sacrifice to female vanity to give up mirrors or ornaments, it is not necessary to determine.

My view of the origin and progress of the institution of serving women is the following: it arose with the building of the tabernacle, not by divine command or direction, but entirely from the concurrence of outward circumstances, or without any special appointment. According to Exod. 35, the whole congregation, men and women, brought a free will offering of precious metals, stuffs, &c., for the construction of the tabernacle and its utensils (v. 29). But their zeal was not satisfied with bringing unwrought materials, but when any one had artistic skill, an offering of the produce of art was made. The last was mainly done by females; at least it is related of these

ther in the law nor the history any particular account of it. We regard ourselves as authorized to consider it a matter of inferior moment.

alone, v. 25: and all the women that were wise-hearted, did spin with their hand, and brought that which they had spun, both of blue and purple, and of scarlet, and of fine linen. These women may have performed their work in part, in their own tents, and in part, indeed, under the inspection of the builders of the sanctuary. Here I find the origin of this institution. No doubt, after the construction and erection of the edifice, the help of females was certainly often needed. Thus, necessarily, and without law, a custom was developed, of whose existence we have information till the end of the term of the Judges. What became of it afterwards, we do not know, there is nowhere any further mention of it. We think it probable that the gross misconduct of the sons of Eli brought it into disrepute, and Samuel's reformation abolished it formally. We again find, at a later period, in David and Solomon's time, women engaged at the sanctuary, but in a very different capacity, namely: as singers.

II. We are acquainted with the weapons with which Hengstenberg supposes that he has equipped, and rendered victorious, his view of Jephtha's vow. They have not appeared so formidable to us, as to induce us to retract from the field. We proceed, rather with good heart, to this contest.

1. Hengstenberg says, § 143: human sacrifices are so directly contrary to the spirit and letter of Jehovah's religion, that there is not a single example in the entire history of one who, even with an outward profession of it, had brought such an offering. Even heathenism, except in its worst forms, repudiates them. They are found solely amongst the most degraded, morally and religiously, nations. I have shown, however, in my history of the Old Covenant (Band I. Zweite Aufl. § 65, 1), that the sacrifice of human beings in the heathen worship, was entirely different, and need not repeat what is said there. That the law of the Pentateuch, on the other hand, frequently and energetically prohibits the worship in which human sacrifices are part, as an abomination before Jehovah, is perfectly correct. But when it is inferred, without anything more, that it is impossible for one, who recognized Jehovah in the days of the Judges, to have vowed or brought a human sacrifice, this assertion and its application to Jephthah, would be correct only, when it was proved that he was fully acquainted with the Pentateuch law, had imbibed its spirit, and lived and moved in it. Hengstenberg thinks that he can prove all this. There are proofs enough at hand, that Jephthah was minutely acquainted with the Pentateuch: therefore he must have known the numerous prohibitions of the worship with human sacri-

fices, and then it is utterly inconceivable, that a man like Jephthah, selected by Jehovah to be the deliverer of his people, who was impelled by the Spirit of God (Judges 11: 29), would have placed himself in the most open, shocking, and conscious opposition to the law.

The proof of Jephthah's minute acquaintance with the historical and legal contents of the Pentateuch, is derived from his message to the Ammonites (Judges, Chap. 11, 14, &c.) as well as from the particularity of his vow, and his expressions in regard to its fulfilment (Judges 11: 35, 36).

In regard to this message to the Ammonites, in which Jephthah shows historically, how Israel came into the possession of the territory beyond the Jordan, we hold that the argument of Hengstenberg, for the existence of the Pentateuch at the time of the composition of this book of Judges, resting upon the numerous and mostly literal references to it in this message, as entirely successful, and satisfied of the historical accuracy of the book of Judges, we do not for a moment doubt, that Jephthah sent a message of this character to the Ammonites. But whether the contents were, to the letter, what is reported in the record, in which it is repeated, or there were other words, or whether Jephthah expressed his message in words so explicitly corresponding with the Pentateuch, is doubtful; but we have no need to contest the point.

We are fully persuaded that the Pentateuch, in its present form and arrangement, was in existence in the time of the Judges. But Hengstenberg infers too much, when he attempts to prove from Jephthah's message to the Ammonites, that he was fully acquainted with it. Jephthah was a rough, bold warrior, whose youth and education, whose life and situation were of such a nature, as hardly to afford him an opportunity to devote himself to the study of the law.

If the Pentateuch was accessible, the denial of which we regard as contradictory to history, it was not certainly in every body's hands, and the instruction, both of the young and the people, was surely very defective. The law, it is true, had an ordinance, which if carefully observed, would have kept alive a pretty minute acquaintance with it amongst the people. It was made, for instance, the duty of Priests and Levites, in Deut. 31: 10-13, to read at the feast of tabernacles, every seventh, or Sabbatical year, the whole law, before the assembled people, "that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and observe to do all the words of this law." But it is another question, whether this regulation was observed, and here we think, that the case was bad at this time.

If this reading was only omitted during the last twenty years, that is, during the continuance of the oppression of the Ammonites in the East, and the Philistines in the West of the land, and this is very probable, a person like Jephthah would hardly have had such a knowledge of the Pentateuch as is indicated by his message. What hinders one believing, that he obtained from the Levites, to whom was specially committed the preservation of the old laws and traditions, in regard to this message, the special points in it? But if this is not satisfactory, it is very conceivable, that the ancient renowned histories of the victories and conquests of the Fathers had fixed themselves more firmly and deeply in the people's memory, than the laws of the Pentateuch, which were not yet brought into operation; as it is not improbable, that the man of war Jephthah, would have a more minute acquaintance with the military achievements of his ancestors, than with the laws of Cultus. If we read (*Judges 11: 11*), that Jephthah held a council of the people, and immediately after sent his message to the Ammonites, it appears very probable, that this assembly had reference to the message, in which Jephthah's ignorance might be removed by the Priests, Levites or Elders, or his imperfect knowledge rectified.

Hengstenberg employs as proof for his assumption of the minute acquaintance of Jephthah, not only with the history, but likewise with the laws of the Pentateuch, his words, and his daughter's, in 35 and 36 verses. "What Jephthah says to his daughter in 35: I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot go back and further what his daughter answered: do to me according to that which hath proceeded out of thy mouth, is in verbal connexion with *Numb. 30: 2*: 'If a man vow a vow unto the Lord he shall not break his word, but shall do according to all that proceedeth out of his mouth.' Comp. *Deut. 23: 24*: 'That which is gone out of thy lips thou shalt keep and perform.' Should it be objected that we have no security that the author gave the words of Jephthah and his daughter accurately, this at least is certain, that Jephthah, in his opinion, was not entirely uncultivated, in a religious view, and that is all we need."

This argument is likewise deficient in force. Here the main matter is not the contents, but the literal form of the words. Now it is at least conceivable, that the representation of fulfilling a vow by the formula: "Do that which has passed from my mouth and my lips, was not taken from the Pentateuch, but as the oriental hebraistic manner of expression, was merely

by accident, parallel with that of the Pentateuch, and it is likewise conceivable, that the author put into the mouth of Jephthah the expression familiar to him, from his acquaintance with the Pentateuch, without the necessity of charging him with want of truthfulness as a historian. Hengstenberg looks upon these words as evidence, that the religious culture of Jephthah was too extensive, to admit of his engaging in the barbarity of a human sacrifice. Here again the reasoning will not at all hold. The words only express the consciousness, that a vow proposed is binding, must be accomplished, however difficult it may be to him who made it. Such a conviction a heathen could and would have, who considered human sacrifices acceptable to God, and therefore it does not follow that Jephthah's religious culture was in advance of the error of the worship of human sacrifices.

We are by no means compelled, it has been shown, to regard Jephthah as having had a minute acquaintance with and entire appropriation of the whole law of the Pentateuch, and particularly of the frequently prohibited worship, by means of human sacrifices. Beyond doubt, Jephthah was called by God to emancipate Israel from the Ammonites. Certainly the spirit of God came upon him, and impelled and strengthened him for the work of deliverance. It cannot be said that Jephthah, because he was capable of proposing and making a human sacrifice, could not, as a worshipper of Moloch, at all accomplish this divine work. For it is only partially true, when Hengstenberg says: "Not to the Lord, but to Moloch are human offerings brought." He who knows fully Jehovah, as Jehovah, as the God who made himself known to Israel in the law, he cannot, he will certainly not, offer him a human sacrifice. But the religious consciousness of a servant of Jehovah may become so depraved and prostrated, or be so imperfectly developed or instructed, that he may fancy that he is serving him with a human sacrifice.

The sin of idolatrous Israel may not have consisted so much in a formal abdication of the worship of Jehovah for the worship of the idols of the Canaanites, as particularly this, that they identified Jehovah and Moloch, that they joined together the worship of Jehovah and Moloch, that they worshipped Jehovah as Moloch was worshipped. Thus does Hengstenberg himself characterize the Schechemite worship of Baal Berith (S. 99) in Judges 9, 4. 46 as Baal worship, which was not in opposition to the worship of Jehovah, but based on Syncretism, as a mere depravation of Jehovah Cultus. But in respect to the position of Jephthah, it is not to be overlooked, that his

error, shocking as it was, was not an error of the will, but of the understanding, that his vow itself, and its accomplishment, despite its recklessness, displayed a religious stratum of uncommon power and depth, and self-denial and submission to God, an enthusiasm for the divine work of freeing Israel, which he was to perform, an unconditional subordination of all selfish interests to the interests of his people, that qualified him, in a high degree, for his vocation.

He may be praised as a hero of faith, with the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, even though we may lament his religious ignorance, and the error which proceeded from it, and even abhor it; David's scandalous murder and adultery, Abraham's falsehood, Jacob's lie and deception, &c., do not hinder us from regarding them as men of God and heroes of faith. When it is said that the Spirit of God came upon Jephthah, the reference is to his impulsion to the work of rescuing Israel. It is nowhere written, that the Spirit of God constantly moved him, that he constantly impelled him to do what was right, that he held him back by might from violations of the law. Entirely analogous is the case with Gideon (Judges 8: 24) which shows us clearly, how little, in the time of the Judges, the law was converted in succum et sanguinem of the people's religious consciousness, how imperfect, in this respect, matters were, and how undisputed heroes of faith could, from imperfect knowledge of the law, become transgressors of it.

Gideon must have been much better acquainted with the contents of the law, than the noble and energetic warrior-prince of Gilead, who, through his unstable life, was kept aloof from the law. Gideon refused the offered crown, because it was unlawful, and against the theocracy (8: 23), and yet the same Gideon established private worship, which is as much forbidden in the Pentateuch as the sacrifice of human beings.

The rationalistic interpretation certainly errs, when it asserts that in the time of the Judges, the law of the Pentateuch was not at all observed or known, did not even exist, but the conservative, historical criticism, is likewise in error, when it assumes, that at this period, there was with the Israelites accurate and comprehensive knowledge, and strict observance of the law. We have traces and evidences enough, that the times of the Judges had declined materially from the eminence which Moses and Joshua maintained, or rather the people of this time occupied the commencing point of that process of assimilation, by which the objective law, given then, was to be received into civil, domestic, and private life. This time is to that of Moses and Joshua as the strikingly impoverished second

century of christianity was to the period of the apostles. The theocratic, legal consciousness was, even with the most noble, as Gideon and Jephthah, still much obscured, and far from entire clearness and firmness. On the other hand, we find the people of this period (because it was not yet incorporated with the law, and lived in it, because it had not the moral religious hold, which it should and could have had, in the law, if it had lived in accordance with Jos. 1 : 8) frequently still given over to and ensnared by the uncongenial magic power of the prevailing Natur-Cultus, with its amazing superstition. How mighty, how magically overpowering, the attraction of the Natur-Cultus must have been, is shown by this period, in its constantly recurring apostacy, in its chastisements and mercies : it must have been to an extent of which we can form no conception, or present to the imagination a picture. The worship which embraced human sacrifices, which we must consider the acme of nature worship, is just that which, from the magnificence of its demands, has something imposing, adapted to affect such untutored, but noble and passionate natures as Jephthah's; whilst it is true, on the other hand, that a real want was at the basis, in all the frightful degeneracy and perversion, the apparent satisfaction of which, would draw into its magic bands, natures of deep religious wants, but of defective or obscure religious knowledge.

2. It is further said, "if the literal be correct, it was to be expected, that in the narrative, the death of the daughter, by the hand of her father, the deed of horror, would have been intimated, if only by a word. This is not done. It is merely said, and he did with her according to his vow." But is not every thing said by this? The vow, v. 31, declares with plain, simple, unequivocal words, "I will offer it for a burnt offering to thee," and then the daughter, in 36, says: "Do as thou hast vowed," that certainly means, "offer me as a burnt offering," and v. 29, the narrator relates, "and he did to her as he had vowed;" that means, certainly,, he offered her as a burnt offering ; is that not explicit enough? Ought we not rather to commend the delicate and correct taste of the narrator, who merely glances at the revolting catastrophe, that he does not place it on the stage with highly wrought distinctness, but lets it pass away behind the scenes ? Is not the father's unutterable grief, the daughter's magnanimous acquiescence and resignation, and the yearly returning festival of the daughters of Jerusalem, in praise of the latter, explicit enough? Hengstenberg says: "Compare the description in Gen. 2f (Abraham's sacrifice).

In entire keeping with the graphic picture, the leading point is brought out in touching and subduing relief."

The main point in Abraham's sacrifice was subjective, the unconditional obedience of faith on his part, objective is the divine restraint in the decisive moment. Here the historian could paint the denouement of the transaction with sincere, heartfelt joy, and must do it with graphic fullness. (See what I have said on this in my Old Testament History.) In the offering of Jephthah every thing was very different. It would deserve to be characterized at least as want of tact, impropriety, insensibility, if not more, if he had portrayed with the same particularity and fullness Jephthah's bloody sacrificial knife and the heroine of filial resignation and submission, swooning as under the death blow with which, the author of Genesis, describes the binding on the wood, which was not kindled, and Abraham's knife, that was not satiated with his son's blood, and the return home with the lad restored to him from the dead (Hebr. 11, 19.) Could the narrator, who must have both admired and abhorred the deed of Jephthah, have expressed himself more nobly, truly, beautifully, powerfully, touchingly than he has done.

It is therefore entirely incomprehensible to us, how Hengstenberg could proceed: "Whoever has to report on such a transaction, as, according to the literal interpretation, is here presented, would never write as this author has done, could not do it." Just the opposite is true. Whoever like our author is animated by the theocratical piety, abhors the *ἰδεοδρησία* in Jephthah's offering, and nevertheless must admire the religious power of erring conscientiousness, resignation and submission, would never write as Hengstenberg desires, would not be able to do this. But the words of Hengstenberg fall with overpowering weight upon and crush his own explanation. For this is as clear as the sun at mid-day, so conclusive, that all opposition must be silent. Whoever has to relate such a fact, as Hengstenberg has introduced into the text, would never so write as our author has done, would not be able to do this. For if the author had but a very little intelligence, it could not be hid from him that the words of the vow and his own: He did to her, as he had vowed, in their first, most direct and natural sense pointed to an actual, proper sacrifice; he must have foreseen, that thousands upon thousands of readers would misunderstand him; it would have been necessary for him then to prevent such a misunderstanding, not to provoke it to add some kind of a clear and decided explanation, that it referred to a spiritual, figurative sacrifice.

It is a fact, that, so far as our knowledge of the interpretation of his words extends into the past, into the most remote antiquity, and from thence to the twelfth century of the Christian era, all readers, so far as we know, without exception, have so understood his words and so explained them. Who would be to blame for this universal perhaps more than 2000 years, at least 14—1500 misunderstanding, who else but our author?

But after the sentence v. 39 : he did with her according to his vow, the words follow וְיָדָה תִּשְׁתַּחַת כֶּבֶשׂ, at which Hengstenberg refers in passing thus, O. V. Gerlach (erkl. Bibel II, 109) teaches us minutely. In what the vow actually consisted, is shown us expressly in v. 39 : and he did to her according to his vow, she knew no man, where the translation : She had known no man ; is arbitrary. Is this decidedly in favor of the burnt offering not being literal, so is the arrangement that a father devotes his daughter to perpetual virginity, thus to be explained &c. Whether the translation : She had known no man, is forced or not, may be decided by Ewald in the remark.¹ According to the statements of this Grammarian, the words of the author mean: He did to her according to his vow (i. e. "he offered her as a burnt offering") and she was not yet married ! she had not attained the woman's designation, the maternal, she had not accomplished her own ardent wish and fulfilled her father's most precious hope, the prevention of the extinction of their isolated family.

3. "If the daughter of Jephthah was devoted to death, it is not obvious why the only object of her lamentation was her virginity, and how the author can render this prominent as most burdensome and grievous just at the close. In the face of death, and particularly such a death, which the daughter was to receive from her father's hand, the thoughts, if not exclusively, would mainly be directed to the death." We remark first, that the Climax in this discourse (and especially such a death) is unfortunately introduced, as it is only of weight for the contested opinion. If she had died a natural, common death, Hengstenberg's statement would have some force. But

¹ Comp. Ewald's ausführl. Lehrbuch d. hebr. Sprache S. 260 : The perfect is used likewise I. of actions, which the speaker considers as already completed, done or past from his presence. . . . Such an action is presented particularly as already done in reference to something past, thus this simple perfect expresses by means of the connection or the reciprocal reference of the sense the two acts of our pluperfect, for which the Hebrew has yet no external distinction, such a perfect may apply to such a past as: God blessed the works, which he נָצַר made, (but they were already present; therefore our) had made Gen. 2, 2, 3, and in many other connections . . . , or it may in advance allude to a past which is to be introduced afterwards.

such a death, the ready and joyful submission to which involved such magnanimity and submission, such glowing patriotism, such powerful enthusiasm, an elevation of spirit so rare, which in the fancy of the father and daughter had such great religious significance, appears differently. The fear of death and its horrors, which creep upon the common man, in the ordinary condition of the soul at the thought of a near and certain death, had no place in the elevated feelings of Jephthah's daughter, was outweighed and repressed by more powerful ones. Only one feeling, only one pang is powerful enough to sustain itself, and that is the consciousness of celibacy, the pain of childlessness, the thought on the necessity of dying without having reached the destiny of woman, without fulfilling the anxious wish of the Israelite woman, without completing the dearest hope of the now childless father. The reproach of childlessness was to the Israelite woman the greatest reproach, the highest pleasure that of the mother, the possession of children more than life. To die without children, to have lived without attaining the end of life, to have given her father the assured indescribable hope of having through her, posterity, numerous and flourishing, and yet not to fulfil it, this was the cause of the agony in the soul of the noble virgin, an agony which attended her to the altar of sacrifice, against which the common fear of death cannot stand, which no state of the soul however elevated can extinguish or expel.

Every thing inexplicable would disappear, if we entered into the spirit of this extraordinary woman. Hengstenberg's assertion "what is said about the reproach of the unmarried amongst the Hebrews, is not applicable here. It only applies thus far, that it explains the distress of Jephthah's daughter, according to our understanding of the facts;" this assertion we consign confidently to the list of assertions, which have had a subjective origin.

4. "Jephthah vowed his daughter to the Lord : The law of Moses knows nothing of vows of human sacrifices, but of vows, which have for their object the consecration of that under their control to the service of the Lord. Levit. 27: 2 ff." But of all that which Hengstenberg introduces into the passage of the law, Lev. 27, there is not one syllable there: nothing about consecration of what they could control, nothing about dedication to the service of the Lord ; it is only decided that, and at what rate persons who were consecrated, should be valued, with reference to their redemption.

5. An event so horrible as the sacrifice of the daughter of Jephthah, could hardly be the object of a national festival of

joy and honor, as C. 11: 40 shows: From year to year the daughters of Israel go four times a year to praise the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite. Certainly ~~run~~ in v. 40, does not mean, as the translations have wrongly rendered, lament, but praise. But it cannot, on this account, as is done by Hengstenberg, be made a joyous festival; that which had produced such indescribable sorrow to the father and daughter, be it what it may, could not have been the occasion of such a festival to the daughters of Israel. But the noble resignation of Jephthah's daughter, the unexampled submission, the elevated nobility of soul of this great woman, deserve praise and commendation; who would not admire with astonishment, the noble spirit of the virgin, although he believed that she was involved in frightful error and superstition! How much more the daughters of Israel, who were subjects of the same error and superstition, but were not possessed of the heroic spirit of their associate, and therefore regarded her with admiration, as an ideal. Bertheau remarks strikingly on the passage: "The Israelites, who lived constantly amongst the Canaanites, and were frequently giving themselves up anew to the worship of nature, the centre of which was human sacrifices, had probably a very different opinion of the barbarity of such a deed, from us and Moses; and not by the heroes of Israel, nor by a Moses or Samuel, was the festival in commemoration of Jephthah's daughter instituted, but it originated in a custom of the people; and it was not Jephthah's deed, but the intrepid daughter, prepared to die for the deliverance of the people, that was praised. Hengstenberg endeavors to give the matter a turn favorable to his view, by attempting to make it appear probable, that this feast was celebrated by all the tribes of Israel, at the tabernacle, during the Passover. But much is to be said in opposition. The service of the tribes was during the time of the Judges, and particularly during the period of foreign tyranny, certainly in a loose state, of which the book of Judges would furnish numerous proofs; the oppression of the Philistines, in the territory west of the Jordan, continued long after the emancipation of the east; the Philistines would hardly have permitted a general gathering of the people at the tabernacle, from the apprehension, that it might lead to a general national uprising, was too obvious and probable; Jephthah and his Gileadites lived in open enmity with the most powerful and important tribe of the west Jordan territory (C. 12); the document does not say that all the daughters of Israel celebrated the feast, the Ephraimites would not have done it certainly; that it was celebrated at the tabernacle is not said at all, still less that it was placed in connexion with a theocratic chief festival. &c.

III. We come finally to the reasons, which compel us irresistibly to the conclusion that there was an actual sacrifice.

The letter of the text furnishes incontrovertible evidence of this. The fact that the author relates, Jephthah designated the first, that should come to meet him from his house, as a burnt offering, and that he had fulfilled it on his daughter, notwithstanding his intense grief, stands there firm as a rock, and beyond doubt, and as long as language serves to express our thoughts, and to make them intelligible to others, as long as white is called white, and black black, thus long must it stand firm, that the daughter of Jephthah was offered corporeally. All that has been brought against it, or may be, is utterly futile. That which Luther's marginal note says, and says so beautifully, cannot be moved. "It is maintained that she was not sacrificed. But the text is clear. The judges and kings present us examples of both great deeds and great follies, to guard against intolerable pride."

What does the language of Hengstenberg present that counteracts this? "This argument is what gives this explanation its pertinacious life. Because it was thought necessary to hold to the external manifestation of the sacrificial system under the old covenant, and there was not attention enough paid, that it was already under a thin veil, that it, as it originally typified spiritual relations, and must, on that account, furnish the expression for such relations, it was thought to be doing violence to the text, to give up the idea of a bodily sacrifice. That a burnt offering is a burnt offering, continually comes up, and must, to all the advocates of this view, as long as the proper view of the whole economy of Old Testament sacrifices is not reached."

It comes up, will and must, as long as Grammar and Lexicon have weight, as long and as often as the grammatical historical interpretation is respected, or is restored to respect. We too say: a burnt offering is a burnt offering.

Hengstenberg adduces a number of passages from the Psalms, the Prophets, and the New Testament (namely: Ps. 14: 3; 40: 7-9; 51: 19; 119: 108; Hos. 14: 13; Rom. 12: 1; 15: 16; Phil. 4: 18; Hebr. 13: 15, 16), in which expressions from the sacrificial service are used figuratively, and applied to spiritual offerings, and when he expresses the apprehension, that all these passages will not meet a proper reception, because they will not be permitted to conduct to proper fundamental views of the sacrifices, and thus leave these passages in their detached and incidental form; yet he

is, nevertheless, very confident: that, at all events, the reference to a number of these passages will serve to shake the confidence with which this argument is used." This expectation entirely fails, at least so far as we are concerned.

When the calf of the lips, the sacrifices of the mouth, the offerings of a broken and contrite heart are spoken of, &c., it is obvious at once, that the language is poetical or parabolical, and no rational person will understand this language literally. The case was very different with Jephthah's vow. It was a vow, where words are carefully used, where words are defined sharply and clearly, and this the more, the more conscientiously a person is disposed to fulfil it. It is more dry, more prosaic, historical report, which can only be interpreted as prose and history. Jephthah should have expressed his vow only in figurative language, if it had not positively been possible to understand it otherwise than as a spiritual offering. Who would affirm this, especially as it was spoken at such a time, and with such attendants, when the Canaanites around offered human sacrifices, when the Israelites were continually turning to the idolatry of the Canaanites. We will not insist on this, that the expression "burnt offering," and offering a burnt sacrifice, never and nowhere, neither in the Old Testament nor in the New, like the names of the other kinds of offerings, or other ceremonies of the sacrificial service, is used in figurative, typical discourse, for this may be accidental; but if it had been used as often as the others, it would prove just as little.

The perfect nullity of Hengstenberg's argumentation is very apparent, when it is applied to other analogous cases. Of many examples which occur to us, we will present but one, perfectly satisfied that this will suffice to set the matter in a proper light. It is notorious, that circumcision in the scriptures, as well as the offerings, is transferred to the domain of figurative language and spiritual references corresponding to bodily: there is a speaking of the circumcision of the lips, the ears, the heart. What would be said, if on the basis of these passages, it should be said: It is an old, but notwithstanding, objectionable and erroneous explanation of Gen. 17: 23; Gen. 21: 4, that Abraham was circumcised, and his servants, and his sons, outwardly, in the flesh, and he who thus interprets is deficient in insight into the true nature of circumcision, into the spiritual import of this institution?

Hengstenberg remarks correctly, § 131: The words, he shall be the Lord's, and those which follow: I will offer him as a burnt offering, are related to each other as genus and species. But here he evidently hits himself. The last is the

explanation (*Epexegesis*) of the former. If the position were reversed, Hengstenberg's argument might have some significance, but as it is now, he himself refers to 1 Sam. 1: 11 : "Then will I give him unto the Lord all the days of his life, and there shall no razor come upon his head." Admirable and entirely conclusive; conclusive, that Hengstenberg's explanation is worth nothing. That is clearly spoken, which Samuel's mother here utters, thus should Jephthah have spoken, if his and Hannah's object had been the same, if his vow, just as Hannah's, had been designed for a life-long consecration to the Lord.

Hengstenberg thinks (S. 138) : as the animals sacrificed symbolized the offering of the persons, and these were the proper sacrifice, so that the figurative expression internally received, is the proper one, thus the offering of burnt sacrifices was properly connected with the consecration of persons. This we see from 1 Sam. 1: 24, 25. When the boy Samuel was brought by his parents to Eli, they slew three bullocks as a burnt offering. The proper burnt offering was Samuel himself; the offering of the bullocks served only to symbolize his consecration." I say again : Admirable ! thus speaks, relates, does one, when the matter is a spiritual offering. If Jephthah had thus spoken and done, if the narrator had thus related and recorded, it would never have occurred to any one to think of a human sacrifice in this history, and the fatal : a burnt offering is a burnt offering, would never have obtained footing, would not have had so tough a life, as it has had till now.

Finally, Hengstenberg, in addition, refers to Gen. 22: 2 : "offer him (Isaac) as a burnt offering," and supposes that the temptation was in the equivoque. I, for my part, must regard it as truly unworthy of God, that he should allow himself in equivoques in reference to a human being, and especially his friend Abraham, who was in covenant with him.

But Hengstenberg meets us with a similar objection : if these words were to be understood literally, then God, who already, according to the Old Testament doctrine, is not a man that he should lie, and the son of man, that he should repent, could not afterwards prohibit human sacrifices. That which, according to his own law, is ungodly, God cannot command, even as a temptation.

I have, in my history of the old covenant, treated the sacrifice of Abraham so extensively and minutely, that I may here, having made this reference, confine myself to a few hints.

In the passage in which is the great truth, that God is not a man that he should lie (Num. 23, 19), God forbids Balaam

at first expressly to go with the messengers of Balak (22, 12), then permits him to do it (22, 20) and commands him at last, when Balaam professes to be willing to return home (22, 35). In regard to this apparent contradiction in the will of God in respect to Balaam, we will seek counsel from Hengstenberg. In the same book, in which he treats Jephthah's sacrifice, he says on this point (S. 470): As already remarked as to the substance, the prohibition to go *in concreto* was directed as the same time against the going at all, as there could have been no other reasonable purpose in the prohibition. That both are here separated, the one forbidden and the other allowed, takes place only with reference to Balaam's sinful disposition. *It was God's will from the beginning that Balaam should go.* God designed to use him as an instrument for his purposes. This could only take place, after the disposition had evolved itself in him to make God the instrument for his ends. At first therefore he received good counsel and was prohibited from that going, which would result in his destruction. Afterwards he was permitted to go as a punishment.

The contradiction between the divine exaction of a human sacrifice from Abraham and the prohibition of all such sacrifices in the legislation of Sinai, is reduced to a contradiction which lies already in Gen. 22, and shows itself in the divine command in the beginning and the obstruction at the end of the temptation. The solution of this contradiction is also at the same time the solution of the other. Hengstenberg will not object if we solve the difficulty as he did that in regard to Balaam. We say too: It was from the beginning the will of God, that Abraham should not offer Isaac in the deed of blood, but in the unconditional submission of the heart. But this last could only be required and ought to be so required, that there might be no reserve for flesh and blood, in the form of Abraham's temptation to do the first, as human sacrifice has a phase that is not undeserving of recognition. The true in human sacrifice is negative, the consciousness of the insufficiency of the offering of beasts, positive the need of a better sacrifice. God desired now in Abraham to approve and recognize the true in human sacrifice by a fact making it clear and to separate and remove the false. The resignation in the heart continued, the sacrifice in this act was repudiated, and at the same time the sacrifice of animals as a substitute for that which was wanting in the spiritual offering of it legitimated. Since that time it is known, how and in what sense God requires human sacrifice. What is here taught by facts, the law teaches by words; corporal sacrifice of human beings is

an abomination to the Lord, the offering of animals is a substitute ; he accepts the vow of a man, as the vowed dare not actually to be offered, but must be redeemed ; likewise a vow of consecration to the Lord, as it is presented in the Nazariat, is acceptable to him, but there is in the consecration a deficiency which must be symbolically supplied by an animal sacrifice.

Hengstenberg explains the anguish of the father, it is true, by this, that his vow compelled his daughter to perpetual virginity and cut him off from the hope of posterity. We believe certainly that this was reason enough for anguish on his part. But that celibacy was united with the Nazariat is not proved and therefore this reason of sorrow falls to the ground. We know from the silence of the law on this point and from the cases of Sampson and Samuel that marriage was not precluded by it. Therefore there is no meaning in the daughter's lamenting her virginity, for though the Nazarite vow, to which the father is supposed to have bound her, the rights of this were neither impaired nor abrogated. Still less is there sense in the daughter's soliciting a period of two months to bewail her virginity. The ancient worthy Pfeiffer had in his time concluded, that there was no necessity, *cum monasterio inclusae licuisset flere ad satietatem*. And finally I ask once more, what reason had the narrator for such a concealment of the matter and for speaking so equivocally and darkly, if he had nothing to report but a thing so common, of every day's occurrence, oft repeated, as the consecration of a Nazarite's vow.

I thought in my first plan to subjoin to this discussion a fourth part, which in the thetic counterpart should be given to the antithetic paragraphs and the sacrifice of Jephthah should be explained from his times, the history of his life and the course of his conduct &c., as the references to these, which the polemical part of my treatise carried with it, appeared too meagre and detached to give a full and clear picture of Jephthah's history. I was about to engage in this, when I saw the necessity for it removed by the commencement of the admirable article of W. Neumann, on the sacrifices of the Old Testament in the German *Textschrift für Wissenschaft und Christliches Leben* (1852. Nr. 30 ff.) Here the revered author has expressed himself pretty fully in regard to Jephthah's sacrifice (but only thetically with the omission of all controversy) S. 247—51, and indeed in so striking, successful and convincing a way, that it appeared superfluous to me, to undertake a similar exhibition. May none of my readers deny themselves the pleasure, which the perusal of this beautiful treatise has afforded me !

ARTICLE VIII.

REMINISCENCES OF LUTHERAN MINISTERS.

*Sed omnes una manet nos
Et calcanda semel via leti.*

It is appointed unto all men to die. Death is a debt we owe to nature. From its stern decree none can claim exemption. The scenes, which at present engross our attention and the objects, which engage our affections, must sooner or later be relinquished. We are all rapidly hastening to the tomb. We, too, must bow to the mandate, and ere long join the congregation of the dead.

"Who to himself shall promise length of life?
None but the fool! for O! to-day alone
Is ours; we are not certain of to-morrow."

A life is a vapor; soon it is gone, and another generation shall succeed. No matter how pious, or how much honored, or how useful, or how much caressed, or how important to the church, the tie must be severed! No condition of life furnishes an indemnity against the common law. Nothing can turn aside the shaft of the great destroyer, or relax his grasp, when he has selected his victim. *Hodie mihi, cras tibi.* Death is ever busy. Every year we are called to stand by the grave and shed a tear over the departure of some cherished friend. The church mourns the loss of her veteran standard-bearer and faithful counsellor, of him too, who has been prematurely cut down in the vigor of manhood, and in the fulness of his strength, when it seemed most difficult to spare him from his work. The beloved and useful minister is summoned away, just when the fields have become white already to harvest. The dispensations of God's irresistible providences are, indeed, enshrouded in mystery, but over the entrance to the tomb is inscribed, *What I do, thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter.* During the year that has just passed, the church has sustained an irreparable loss, in the death of two of her beloved and revered ministers, whose services claim our gratitude, whose memory demands our reverence. There is an imperious obligation on us to preserve and transmit to posterity the recollection of christian virtue and benevolent action. Such a tribute to the memory of the dead, is not only due to those who have passed away, but the influence is salutary upon the living, in teaching lessons of wisdom. Whilst we cher-

ish their excellencies, we may imitate their example, by which *they, being dead, still speak*, and contribute to the promotion of that cause, for which they toiled and prayed. In connexion with hundreds, who gratefully acknowledge the goodness of God, in favoring our Zion with men so favorably known, and usefully employed, we would, following an instinctive desire of our nature, bear our testimony to exalted virtue, and record our appreciation of departed worth. Among all who have occupied a prominent position in the history of the Lutheran church in this country, perhaps there is no one who is entitled to a higher rank than

J. GEORGE SCHMUCKER, D. D.

He was born, August 18th, 1771, in Michaelstadt, in the Duchy of Darmstadt, Germany. His parents were pious, and dedicated their child in infancy to God. They expended much labor upon his religious education, and were careful to instil virtuous principles upon his youthful mind. Their pious counsels were never forgotten. He was early instructed in the Catechism of Luther, and when in his fourteenth year, was received as a member of the church, according to the German usage, by the rite of confirmation. His father, with the whole family, immigrated to this country in 1785, and after a residence of one year in Northampton County, Pa., and another in Lancaster County, Pa., he removed to the vicinity of Woodstock, Va., which he adopted as a permanent home.

The subject of our narrative, from his childhood, walked in the ways of the Lord, but, when in the eighteenth year of his age, his piety assumed a more decided and strongly marked character. His religious views and feelings seemed to undergo a radical change. He was brought, by the power of the Holy Spirit, to see the nature of sin in the light of God's word, and man's inability to save himself, to realize his own utter helplessness, and to lay hold by faith, of the only hope, presented in the gospel. His convictions were deep and pungent, but in *believing*, he rejoiced *with joy unspeakable and full of glory*. *Old things were done away; behold all things had become new*. He ever retained a vivid impression of this period in life, and with grateful emotions, referred to the time when the Savior appeared so precious to his soul, and he experienced so signally the presence of the Lord. For weeks after he had obtained peace of mind, "he lived," to use his own language, "as it were in Paradise, in heavenly places." At this time the Baptist denomination exerted a very great influence in the State of Virginia. Their ministers were active,

their preaching evangelical, and their labors were owned of God. Mr. Schmucker frequently attended their meetings, and was deeply affected by the truth which was presented. He, however, traced his most serious and permanent impressions to the influence of a layman in the Baptist church, to whom he was warmly attached, and who often conversed with him respecting the interests of his soul. This friend, when they met, would relate his own christian experience to Mr. Schmucker, and press upon his attention the duty of unreserved consecration to God. The word spoken was not in vain. The truth produced the desired effect. The young man at once determined to cast himself as he was, at the feet of the friend of sinners, and to seek the Lord with full purpose of heart. The prayer of faith was answered. His load of guilt was removed. The promised aid was given. The pearl of great price was found, and he was permitted to enjoy that peace which passeth all understanding. Impelled by a strong desire to do good, and to glorify God, from this hour he devoted himself to the christian ministry, in which, for more than half a century, he lived to preach a crucified Redeemer. To the work he consecrated his abilities, not with a reluctant, but a cheerful spirit. Having himself been called from the kingdom of darkness into the glorious kingdom of God's dear Son, he felt a concern for the spiritual welfare of others, and earnestly desired to rescue their souls from ruin.

With the design of fitting himself for the responsible duties of the holy office, in about a year from this period he commenced a course of reading and study, under the direction of Rev. Paul Henkel, who was, at the time, pastor of the Lutheran church in Woodstock, and whom he also frequently accompanied in his missionary tours to North Carolina and other remote points. It must be borne in mind, that in those days our ministers were few, and their people scattered. For many years the Lutheran church in this country was missionary ground. One man had usually a large circuit. He was very much of an itinerant, and was incessantly engaged, visiting destitute brethren, preaching to them the gospel in their vernacular tongue, attending to their spiritual wants, and administering the sacraments. Mr. Schmucker, from these missionary excursions, gained many advantages. He acquired experience, and became acquainted with the condition of the church. His own heart was stirred up, when he saw the state of things which existed. He burned more than ever with an ardent desire to labor in the vineyard of his Master.

Drs. Helmuth and Schmidt were at this time engaged in preparing young men for the ministry, from different sections of the church. Supposing that he would enjoy greater facilities for study under their able instruction, he repaired to Philadelphia in 1790. Here he remained for two years, and continued the prosecution of his classical and theological course, with unwearied diligence and encouraging success. The powers of his mind rapidly developed, and were disciplined by studies that require and employ the exercise of serious reflection. Drs. Lochman and Endress were amongst his fellow-students, with whom he lived on the most intimate terms, and for whom, in after life, he ever retained a strong affection. With them, whilst a student, he was associated in a society for the discussion of theological questions, and for improvement in public speaking. With much satisfaction he was wont to refer to these exercises. From them he thought he derived important aid, in the work of preparation for active duty. In 1792 he closed his education in Philadelphia, and was the same year admitted as a member of the Synod of Pennsylvania, then in session at Reading, Pa.

Mr. Schmucker's first charge consisted of several congregations in York County, Pa., the call to which he accepted, on the recommendation of Dr. Helmuth and Rev. J. Goering, both of whom were his warm friends, as long as they lived. In this field he labored with great acceptance for two years. His efforts were greatly blessed. The churches were revived, and large numbers hopefully converted. His influence was long felt, and the fruits of his labors were still visible, on his return to that region, twenty years afterwards. Many of the subjects of his efforts were still living, and faithfully engaged in the service of the Lord. During his residence here, he continued his Hebraistic and Theological studies, with the aid of Mr. Goering, who was then settled as pastor in the borough of York, and enjoyed a high reputation as a scholar.

In 1794, in obedience to a unanimous call, and to what seemed the indication of Providence, he was induced to remove to Hagerstown, Md., a charge which had been, for some time, vacant, and which embraced eight congregations. When he entered upon this field of labor, he was only twenty-two years of age, and is described as being remarkably small, pale and emaciated, the result of unceasing application, and severe mental discipline. His manners out of the pulpit were diffident and unassuming, and his appearance extremely youthful, reminding you more of the lad of sixteen, than the full-grown

man. Many were surprised, that one apparently so young, should have been sent to a field of labor so extensive, a charge so important. He was even sportively designated the *boy-preacher*, yet he soon attained an influence and wielded a power, which it is seldom the privilege of men to enjoy. His duties were onerous, but he was indefatigable. He labored with his characteristic zeal and fidelity. Says one, who succeeded him several years afterwards:¹ "The warm affection and deep-toned enthusiasm, with which the congregations still continued to speak of their revered spiritual father, and dwelt on the power of his preaching, and the searching character of his pastoral visits, afforded the best evidences of the fidelity of his ministry." The blessing of Heaven rested upon his labors. He was here favored with a precious revival of religion: the interest first manifested itself at a prayer meeting, held at his own house, and spread to his catechumens. The work was extensive, and in his own words, "many souls were gained for heaven." When he filled an appointment in one of his country congregations, it was his habit to visit the neighborhood on the Saturday preceding, to call a meeting for prayer in the evening, at some farm-house, and preach to the families assembled, with a simplicity and fervor never forgotten by those who heard him, and which the divine blessing signally accompanied. The public exercise was generally succeeded by private conversation, respecting the great work of the soul's salvation and preparation for eternity, addressed to each individual present.

In 1807, on the death of Dr. Kunze, the subject of our sketch received a call to the city of New York, which he declined, preferring to remain for the time, in his present connexion. In 1809 he was invited to become the successor of the lamented Goering, and although he was reluctant to dissolve his pastoral relations with a people, to whom he was warmly attached, he felt that it was his duty to accept the invitation. He immediately entered upon his labors, and here he manifested the same devotion to the interests of his charge, which had elsewhere marked his career, and similar results followed. The work of the Lord prospered, and many were added to the church. His best affections were gathered around the object to which he had dedicated himself—to it his untiring energies were devoted. Of the church in York, he was pastor for twenty-six years, and when, in consequence of the state of his health, he was compelled to tender his resignation, he still con-

¹ Rev. Dr. B. Kurtz, of Baltimore, Md.

tinued to serve one of the congregations in the country, to which he ministered on his first introduction to the sacred office. Soon afterwards he retired altogether from the active duties of the ministry, on account of the increasing infirmities of age and, in 1852, removed to Williamsburg, Pa., in order that he might be with his children,¹ several of whom resided in that vicinity. Here he abode during the remainder of his earthly pilgrimage, and enjoyed the kind assiduities of his kindred and friends. Until the last, his life retained its mild and genial lustre, and his faculties continued unimpaired. His death was just like his life, calm, natural, collected and happy. His life was gentle, his end was peaceful.

"So fades the summer clouds away,
So sinks the gale, when storms are o'er ;
So gently shuts the eye of day ;
So dies the wave along the shore."

He died on the 7th of October, 1854, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and we have reason to suppose that he now rejoices in the presence of Him, whom unseen he loved, and in whom he believed.

The corpse was taken to York, which had been, for so long a period, the scene of Dr. Schmucker's pastoral labors, and interred in front of the large German Lutheran church, in the presence of a large concourse of mourning relatives and sympathizing friends. An impressive discourse, appropriate to the occasion, was delivered by Benjamin Kurz, D. D., of Baltimore, Md., from the words: *Them that honor me, I will honor*; in which the speaker, after showing how God is honored by good men, and how good men are honored by God, made a practical application of the subject to the character of the deceased. Rev. Dr. Martin, Rev. Jonathan Oswald, and Rev. D. Ziegler, also participated in the other solemnities of the service. The occasion was still further improved by the Rev. Dr. Martin, of York, and Rev. J. H. Heck, of Williamsburg, delivering discourses to their respective charges on the succeeding Lord's day.

Of none of our ministers could it be more truly and emphatically said, "He honored God, and God did honor him," than of this eminent man, in whose life and character a rare constellation of excellencies blended. He went down to his grave, full of years and of honor, *like as a shock of corn*.

¹ Fourteen children of Dr. Schmucker are still living. One of his sons, Professor S. S. Schmucker, D. D., is in the ministry, and four of his daughters are married to clergymen, viz: C. F. Schaeffer, D. D., S. Sprecher, D. D., C. G. Weyl, P. M. Rightnay.

cometh in, in his season, and has left a name to be had in grateful remembrance by thousands, who knew and felt his worth. He was justly distinguished for his learning, eloquence and piety, and during the long period of his active and useful life, he possessed an extraordinary influence, and aided in originating and carrying on some of the most important measures adopted for the progress and prosperity of the Lutheran church. He was always identified with every movement that was designed to do good, and calculated to advance the peace of Zion. He was one of the founders and most zealous advocates of the General Synod. Over its deliberations he was called to preside in its earlier history. The offices of trust and of honor, with which he was frequently invested, attest the estimation in which he was held by the brethren. His opinions on all questions were valued, and his counsels diligently sought. His views were regarded as comprehensive, discriminating, and of a salutary tendency. Whenever any enterprise was started in the church, his influence was considered highly important, and his cooperation almost essential to success. He was deeply interested in the cause of missions, and from its formation until a short time before his death, when he declined a re-election, he was President of our Foreign Missionary Society. He was also the early friend and active supporter of the Theological Seminary of the General Synod, and for many years served as President of its Board of Directors. He aided in the establishment of Pennsylvania College, and for more than twenty years acted as a Trustee. He was also the friend of popular education, and of all judicious schemes for advancing the progress of the race in knowledge, religion, and true happiness. He was ready to give a helping hand to every good object, to lead or to follow in all the great movements of the age, designed for the improvement of mankind. Those national christian institutions, which have proved so great a blessing to other lands, as well as our own, awakened his warmest sympathies, and secured his earnest effort. He was, at the time of his death, the senior Vice-President of the American Tract Society, having been appointed to the office in 1826. He loved the American Bible Society, the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Temperance Union, and all the catholic religious enterprises of the day. In the labors of these societies he took a part, and faithfully endeavored to promote the objects which they contemplated. He likewise evinced an anxious concern for our transatlantic brethren. He regarded with affectionate interest the Halle Orphan House, which, in the beginning, had rendered us so much assistance, and furnished the church with

many able ministers. He manifested his gratitude for the service, by forwarding to the institution contributions, in order that its pecuniary embarrassments might be relieved, and during the French war, he raised for it the largest collection it ever received from America.

Dr. Schmucker was a man of considerable learning. He was endowed by nature with a strong, vigorous mind, which culture had greatly strengthened. Although not furnished in his youth with the best literary advantages, the opportunities which he subsequently enjoyed, he diligently improved. He was a man of unerring judgment and great compass of thought. He spent much time in study. Its pursuit to him was never a weariness. From the University of Pennsylvania he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1825.

Dr. Schmucker is known as the author of several valuable Theological works.¹ Of these, the most important is his Commentary on the Apocalypse. The endorsement it received at the time of its publication, from such men as Bishop White and Kemp, Drs. Helmuth, Lochman, Kurtz, Wilson, Cathcart, Ely and Staughton, is sure testimony to the value of the work. In some recent discussions on the Millennium, the views of Dr. Schmucker have been referred to with favor. A few months before his death, in an allusion to his explanation of the Prophecies, he remarked that he still considered his chronological calculation as correct, although he had discovered that in his reckoning of the sixth and seventh vials, he had not allowed a sufficient lapse of time. Dr. Schmucker also occasionally furnished for publication a sermon, and frequently contributed articles to the magazines and religious journals of the church. When he was no longer able, from physical ability, to preach, it was his practice to prepare brief essays on practical subjects, for a German sheet which circulated among the people.

Dr. Schmucker was an eloquent preacher, we mean, of course, in the German language, for he never attempted to officiate in the English, until the latter part of his life, and then only when there was a necessity for it. No one who ever heard him speak, could fail to admit his uncommon power over

¹ The following is a list of his publications: *Prophetic History of the Christian Religion, or Explanation of the Revelation of St. John.* 2 Vols. 8vo. 1817—21. *Vornehmste Weissagungen der Heiligen Schrift,* 1807. 1 Vol. 12 mo. *Wächterstimme an Zion's Kinder,* 1838, pp. 223. *Reformations Geschichte zur Jubelfeier der Reformation,* 1817, pp. 32. *Schwarmergeist unserer Tage entlarret zur Warnung erweckter Seelen,* 1827, pp. 52. *Lieder Anhang, zum Evang. Gesangbuch der General Synode,* 1833. *Erklärung der Offenbarung Johannis.* 1 Vol. 8vo. pp. 347.

the minds of his hearers. His audience listened to him with profound attention and intense emotion. He arrested the interest at the commencement, and held it to the close, as if by a spell. His sincerity and candor carried home to the heart the conviction, that he believed what he said. He possessed an earnest manner and genuine pathos. He was plain and practical, not only intelligible, but attractive to all classes, simple and discriminating, aiming at the heart, and exhibiting a wonderful knowledge of human nature. Says one¹ who knew him well: "The fire of his piercing black eye, his animated countenance, his fearless, solemn and impressive manner, the deep tones of his sonorous voice, his forceful argument, close logical reasoning, the overpowering conviction, with which he himself felt every thought he uttered invested him with a power in the sacred desk, and secured a command over the audience, rarely possessed." His sermons partook largely of the experimental and practical, and abounded in frequent citations from the Scriptures. He adopted the textual or expository mode, and usually preached from a full skeleton, prepared with the greatest care. The topic, upon which he loved to dwell, was the doctrine of the cross; the salvation of the soul to be secured only in God's appointed method, by simple trust in Christ, as *the way the truth and the life*.

In his Theological views, Dr. Schmucker was neither illiberal nor proscriptive. He believed that the fundamental doctrines of the Bible were found in the Confessions of his church, but he never permitted any human creed to come in conflict with the doctrines taught in the Sacred Oracles. He approved of the doctrinal basis of the General Synod, but the Bible he studied with untiring assiduity, and to its teachings implicitly submitted. He was a man of truly Catholic feelings, confining neither his efforts nor his sympathies to the limits of his own church, of which he was an honored minister, but extending his tender solicitude to every good cause. It was his constant aim to promote peace and unity among all real christians, and to coöperate with them in every feasible way. During a series of protracted meetings, it was his custom to call to his aid ministers of other evangelical denominations. He advocated a union of the Lutheran and German Reformed churches in this country, so long as there was any prospect of the success of the project. He also urged a union of effort in these churches, in the work of Foreign Missions, and proposed for them the adoption of one Hymn-Book, and the establish-

¹ Rev. Dr. Kurtz, of Baltimore, Md.

ment of one Theological Seminary, in order that those who were so nearly related, might be more closely united. But unfortunately other counsels prevailed, and his exertions were defeated.

As might be supposed, Dr. Schmucker, as a pastor, was eminently successful. The spiritual welfare of his flock occupied his constant thoughts, and engaged his best efforts.

"Deeply learned in the philosophy of heaven,
He searched the causes out of good and ill,
Profoundly calculating their effects,
Far past the bounds of time ; and balancing,
In the arithmetic of future things,
The loss and profit of the soul to all
Eternity."

He was unwearied in the performance of his pastoral duties. He was always the kind counsellor. He had a heart of compassion for his fellow-men. He was ever ready to alleviate suffering, and pour the oil of gladness into the troubled soul, to reclaim the erring, and to raise the fallen. To the distressed and desponding he was a soothing and welcome visiter. At the bed-side of the sick and dying he had great power. He scarcely knew an idle hour, and proofs of his pious zeal and indefatigable industry were everywhere abundant. Revivals of religion in his congregations were frequent, and their effects lasting. He was the friend of prayer meetings, protracted meetings, and favored all suitable measures for the building up of the Redeemer's kingdom. He ordinarily admitted into church connexion, from eighty to one hundred during the year. At different periods, during his ministry, young men devoted themselves to the sacred office. Among the number whose names now occur to us, are his son, Professor S. S. Schmucker, D. D., John G. Morris, D. D., D. P. Rosenmüller, S. K. Hoshour, D. Gottwald, R. Weiser, J. Hoover, M. Eyster and E. Frey.

Dr. Schmucker was a warm-hearted christian, a man of earnest prayer, and fervent piety. He loved to commune with his God ! He often enjoyed special seasons of the divine presence, and had extraordinary impressions of the Savior's influence. On one occasion, his mind was so much operated upon, that for several weeks he lived more secluded, and mingled in society only when his duties required, in order that his thoughts might be more detached from the world, and fastened upon heavenly subjects. Although these spiritual manifestations lasted only a brief period, their influence was permanent. The scenes of Calvary were more deeply imbedded in his mind. His impressions of the Savior's sufferings were more

distinct, his joy unbounded, and his soul was drawn out more fully in love and gratitude towards the Redeemer. Whilst he was a student in Philadelphia, he experienced deep spiritual exercises of the soul. For a time he was sorely tried by the adversary of souls. He walked in darkness. Clouds hung upon his mind. He had no assurance of faith. He was on the point of relinquishing his studies, of abandoning the ministry, and of returning to his home. But the more powerful the temptation, the more fervent his supplications. He received strength from on high. The tempter fled. God did not permit him to remain in this condition for any length of time. A light broke in upon his mind. His doubts were dissipated, all difficulties were removed. Whilst engaged at the mercy seat, "the Savior," he used to say, "appeared to him, as it were, in a cloud, looking so pleasantly at him, that his confidence at once revived, and he became comfortable and happy." His faith in God's special promises was unwavering. His own life abounded with many striking incidents illustrative of the Divine interposition. He was several times rescued from imminent danger, and almost miraculously preserved. He often referred to the excursion he made to the Southwest in company with Rev. Mr. Henkel. In attempting to cross a river, he missed the ford, and was nearly drowned. There was no house nearer than eight miles, whither he was obliged to go, in cold weather and wet clothes. From the exposure he never suffered any injury. On another occasion, during a missionary tour, he was overtaken by the darkness of night, in a strange country; he stopped at the first house he reached, and begged for a night's lodgings. The request was denied by the ill-looking host, and he had to start off in search of the next house, three miles distant. As he departed, he saw a suspicious looking fellow, whom he had noticed seated in the chimney-corner, take a bridle and go towards the stable. Soon after he found the man in close pursuit of him. He, however, quickened the pace of his own horse, which could travel more rapidly, and in this way escaped. The pursuer, who certainly had no good object in view, continued to follow him, until he was within sight of the house, and then he turned back.

He was a great admirer of Spener and Francke, and other writers of the Pietistic school, and sympathized with them in their conflicts with the Formalism of their day. He valued the writings of Calvin, Wesley, Rambach, Kempis, Arndt, and the devotional literature of the day generally. He owned a copy of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress in the German language, which he highly prized and frequently read. Bogatz-

ky's Schatz-Küstlein, he kept continually by his side, and loved to refer to its pages.

Dr. Schmucker was a man of great moral courage. The exhibition of this trait in scenes of trial and difficulty, impresses the beholder with elevated ideas of him who develops it. And if there is any man, at whose feet we are disposed to bow with deference, and to express the highest regard, it is the man described by Horace,

*Justum ac tenacem propositi virum
Non cieum ardor prava jubentium,
Non vulnus instantis tyranni
Mente quattuor solida—*

Nothing could deter the subject of our memoir from pursuing a straight-forward course. He was disposed to do what was right, regardless of the praise or censure of his fellow-men. He was never charged with a time-serving spirit. Threats did not intimidate him. He shrank not from the performance of any duty, he never consulted his own interests in preference to those of his Divine Master. His soul was so fully possessed of the fear of God, that there was no room in it for the fear of man. This virtue was often put to the test. Whilst pastor at Hagerstown, he encountered violent opposition in consequence of the introduction of social meetings for prayer, into the church. The feeling against him was very strong, but he was unmoved. He was influenced by conscientious motives in adopting this *new measure*, and he could not recede from his position. After presenting a vindication of his course, he told his congregation, that if he were not allowed to carry out his convictions of duty on this subject, his resignation was the only alternative. He could no longer remain their pastor. This settled the question. All opposition was withdrawn. He continued to labor as before, and the most amicable relations existed. In the advocacy of the Temperance reform, when even good men stood aloof, he evinced the same characteristic. He was the undaunted champion of the reform, took a prominent part in every movement to advance the cause, and participated in the first meeting in York, convened for the suppression of intemperance. The consequence was that a violent crusade was raised against him, and he became the victim of cruel persecution. There were numerous distilleries in the county, some of which were conducted by men of influence. They were indignant at his course. Numerous meetings were held, inflammatory speeches made, and the most violent measures threatened. The ire of his own members was excited

against him, and they proposed to close the church door upon him. As his support was derived from voluntary contributions, for a season a large portion of his salary was withheld. Yet he could not be induced to change his ground. He was willing to forfeit their regard, to be forsaken by friends, even to lose his charge, and sacrifice everything, rather than not to give his aid, or exert his influence in favor of an institution, which promised so much for the amelioration of the race. He lived long enough to hear those, who opposed him, acknowledge their error, and express their approbation of his efforts.

Although the Doctor was decided in his views and firm in duty, he was a man of genial feelings, warm affections, and great tenderness of heart. We met him for the first time in the autumn of 1833, and were particularly struck with his mild, benevolent aspect; his lovely spirit made a deep impression upon our mind; the cordial greetings and warm reception he gave us, time will never be effaced from our memory. In all the domestic and social relations of life, he was gentle and kind. His manner was free and unreserved, and marked by blandness, sincerity and simplicity. He always had a tender regard for the feelings of others. His temperament was cheerful, his disposition contented, his intercourse courteous. No one was more exempt from selfishness. He was liberal with his means, inclined to give to every good cause, to the full extent of his ability. He was not without his reward, even in this life. *The liberal soul shall be made fat: and he that watereth shall be watered also himself.* Benevolence—

“Is not strained,
It droppeth like the gentle rain from Heaven
Upon the place beneath. It is twice blessed,
It blesseth him who gives and him that takes.”

His whole life was devoted to the service of God, and afforded a beautiful exemplification of christian consistency, purity and activity. His own peace and happiness were intimately connected with the prosperity of the church. He had a lively concern for all that pertained to her welfare, and was ever ready to employ his powers for her extension or defence. The closing scenes of his life presented a spectacle as attractive and impressive as his long and useful career. During his protracted feebleness, he was the most perfect example of equanimity, resignation and patience. No murmur escaped his lips. In reply to inquiries respecting his health, he would say, “I frequently suffer pain, but I thank God it is not worse.” To his son¹ he remarked, “It is time I should go home; I

¹ Professor Schmucker, of Gettysburg, Pa.

can no longer be of use to any one here; I desire to be with my Savior." Until the last he manifested a great sympathy with every thing connected with the mediatorial reign of the Redeemer, and several times, when it was proposed to read to him from the sacred volume, he suggested that the seventeenth chapter of John's Gospel should be selected.

Thus, after more than four-score years of usefulness—his work completed—surrounded by his family—his mind calm, his faith strong, his hopes bright—this good man, without a fear, or without a pang, fell asleep in Jesus! Even after death, that placid, smiling expression, which was so peculiar to him, and indicated so much inward peace, lighted his countenance, and spoke of the happiness he was then enjoying. Well may we all exclaim: *Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.*

JOHN W. RICHARDS, D. D.

January 27th, 1854, will long be remembered in the city of Reading. It was the day when nearly the whole community crowded to the sanctuary, not to listen to the voice of the pastor of the church, but to gaze for the last time on his lifeless remains, and to pay the last tribute of respect to one who was highly esteemed in life. His voice was silent in death, but his virtues were still fresh in the remembrance of the people. All felt that a good man had been taken away, that his place could not be easily supplied.

As the tidings of Dr. Richards' death spread over the land, a sensation of deep and general regret was experienced. The church was struck with simultaneous sorrow. The ministry, in whose ranks a void had been created, earnestly looked for one upon whom the mantle of the ascending spirit might fall. The excellence of his character, the importance of his services, the value of his counsels, and the weight of his influence, all conspired to render the event most afflicting. In the prime of manhood, and the meridian of his usefulness, the summons came, the call must be obeyed! The congregation to which he ministered, presented, at the time, a spectacle of interest and progress. The Synod, of which he was a valued member, turned to him, as one whose counsels could be safely followed. Every object, with which he was connected, indicated the presence of his spirit, and a future of the highest promise. His home was the abode of affection, piety and happiness. All things under his care, appeared prosperous and successful. He was actively and zealously engaged in his Master's service. It was then the message reached him! In a few moments, the

silver cord was loosed, the golden bowl broken at the fountain. The struggle was over, the battle fought, the victory won! His mission was done, his journey finished! His spirit had returned to God, who gave it. He was translated from the scenes of his earthly efforts, to a higher sphere, and a more exalted position. He passed at once from his labors to his reward. Of him, it might be truly said, that he walked with God, and he was not, for God took him.

In considering the bereavement with which the church is visited, in the premature death of one of her watchmen, under circumstances peculiarly afflicting, the question naturally arises, why are the good, the pure, the useful and the faithful, taken away from us in the midst of their activity? Human reason cannot answer the inquiry. Revelation alone gives the assurance, that God ordereth all things well. Though sight cannot perceive, nor reason unfathom the inscrutable ways of Providence, we are told, by the word of inspiration, that that, which is at present dark and mysterious, will become light and clear, will result in illustrating God's character, and in rendering his benevolence most glorious. In heaven we shall perfectly comprehend that which seemed to us here quite strange. Many a doubt will there be fully solved, many a perplexity entirely removed, many a mystery satisfactorily explained. We shall be led to adore the Divine goodness, and magnify infinite wisdom.

"God nothing does, nor suffers to be done,
But thou wouldest do thyself, couldst thou but see
The end of all events as well as He."

The subject of our sketch was born in Reading, Pa., April 18th, 1803. He was the son of Matthias Richards, for many years an Associate Judge of the Courts in Berks County, and grandson of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, D. D., the apostle of Lutheranism on this Western continent. He too, was blessed with pious parents, who early instructed him in the principles of piety, and restrained him from outward acts of immorality. In 1819, when in the sixteenth year of his age, he made a profession of religion, by the principles of which, his whole subsequent career was eminently controlled. He united with Trinity church, Reading—of which H. A. Muhlenberg, D. D., was at the time pastor. His classical studies were principally pursued under the direction of John Grier, D. D., who then had charge of the Academy, in his native place. On the completion of his Academic course, being deeply impressed with the idea that he was called to the ministry of reconciliation, he at once, in the year 1821, commenced his Theological

reading with his pastor, Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, whose instructions he continued to receive, until the fall of 1824, when he applied to the Synod of Pennsylvania for license to preach the gospel. After a satisfactory examination, on the subjects required, conducted by Rev. Drs. Ernst and Miller, he was solemnly set apart to the ministry, the Rev. Dr. Endress officiating on the occasion. With this ecclesiastical body he remained connected until the time of his death, enjoying the confidence and esteem of the members, and repeatedly holding appointments of honor and trust in the Synod.

Dr. Richards' first charge embraced the church at New Holland, Lancaster County, and four other congregations in the vicinity. In the Spring of 1834 he resigned and removed to the Trappe, Montgomery County, which had been the scene of his grandfather's early labors. In 1836 he received and accepted a call to Germantown, Pa., where he continued to officiate until the autumn of 1845, when he became pastor of St. John's church, Easton Pa. In this field, as in all his previous charges, he preached in the English and German languages, and labored successfully in building up the church, "cheered," in his own words, "by the kindness and co-operation of his people." During his residence here, he held, by the appointment of the Trustees, the Professorship of German Language and Literature in Lafayette College. His connexion with the congregation at Easton, he most reluctantly relinquished. Influenced, however, by the advice of many of his ministerial brethren, and impelled by what he considered the leadings of Providence, he consented, in the Spring of 1851, to take charge of Trinity church, Reading, in which he had been brought up, and which had become vacant by the death of Jacob Miller, D. D. It was considered a difficult station to fill. Dr. Richards, in the estimation of all, seemed admirably adapted to this field of labor. His kind, conciliatory disposition, the influence he possessed over the German, as well as the English community, the position he occupied in his Synod, designated him as the individual for the situation. He had just commenced his career under the most favorable auspices. His prospects were encouraging. The obstacles in the way of his success were vanishing. The church was flourishing. The schools and societies were in a healthful condition. He possessed the affection of his people and the confidence of the public. Every thing in the future was bright and full of promise. But *God's ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts.* The deceased had suffered, on various occasions, from an affection of the heart, but his general health

was good. No dangerous consequences were anticipated. He had risen, the morning of his death, as well as usual, and had just committed to the grave, one of his own flock. During the exercises he felt pain, and at the conclusion of the service immediately repaired to his residence. He complained of suffering and was assisted to bed. Medical aid was summoned, but before it could reach him, he was a corpse. He expired in less than fifteen minutes after his return home. Without a sigh or a groan, he closed his eyes on earth, and opened them in heaven. In the trying hour he was sustained by the strong arm of Jehovah. As he walked *through the valley of the shadow of death*, he feared *no evil*, for God was with him. He died January 24th, 1854, in the fifty-first year of his age. On the following Friday his body was borne to the grave. The funeral services were conducted by Rev. G. A. Wenzel, J. C. Baker, D. D., and C. R. Demme, D. D. Dr. Baker delivered a sermon in the English language from the words: *Set thine house in order, for thou shalt die and not live;* and Dr. Demme in the German, from the text: *Blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them.* In the Charles Evans Cemetery the remains of this servant of God lie buried. A neat stone marks the spot, with the following simple inscription:

REV. JOHN W. RICHARDS, D. D.

BORN APRIL 18, 1803—DIED JANUARY 24, 1854.

Remember the words I spake unto you.

Although Dr. Richards' life is unmarked by any striking occurrences, and presents little of stirring incident to diversify its course, he was a most useful man, and evidences of his pastoral fidelity, zeal, and efficiency, are to be found in every community in which he was called to labor. His duties were uniform, and generally of an onerous nature. During the course of his ministry, embracing a period of thirty years, he received into the church 1292 persons, baptized 2362, married 631, and buried 951. He was always much devoted to the people of his charge, and labored in every way to promote their highest good. He took pains to become acquainted with them all, and in his intercourse, exhibited the character of a faithful minister, and of the affectionate, warm-hearted, sympathizing friend. His whole deportment was courteous and affable, so that even the most diffident and timid felt no embarrassment in his presence. The cordiality with which he

met them, at once inspired confidence, and opened the way for the most unrestrained approach. No one in affliction or distress, could go to him, without meeting generous sympathy and kind encouragement. His active benevolence and philanthropic spirit, made him an object of affection and gratitude. His congregations appeared to appreciate the interest he manifested in their welfare, and to reciprocate the esteem he cherished for them. And we doubt not that since "his spirit" has "passed away from the chequered scenes of life, and the turf" has grown "green o'er his grave," in accordance with the wish expressed only a short time before his departure, his labors do "still speak of his affectionate regard for his people, and perpetuate in their hearts the memory of their pastor."

His efforts to do good were not confined to his labors in the pulpit. With those with whom he was ecclesiastically connected, he labored harmoniously to promote the general interests of the church. In associations for religious and benevolent objects, he was an active and efficient member. He was the warm friend and zealous supporter of every project for doing good, and carrying on the great work of moral and intellectual improvement. Some idea of the interest which he took in his people, and the teachings he inculcated, may be gathered from the following exhortation, extracted from his valedictory discourse, on his departure from Easton :

"To perform your duty, in view of your great accountability, you must *not be weary in well doing*. Be fervent in your religious exercises, and zealous in the aid of your religious societies. Let the Sunday Schools, the Missionary and Education cause, the Benevolent association, also the Bible, Tract, Colportage, Temperance, and kindred causes, everlie near to your heart. Let your pastor be very dear to you, and encourage him in his arduous labors. Be regular in your attendance on divine service, and frequently and worthily partake of the Lord's Supper. Search carefully the Scriptures; watch and pray without ceasing; guard well your hearts, and abstain from the very appearance of evil. Suffer not your children to grow up without baptism. Send them faithfully to the Sunday School, and bring them with you, when of a suitable age, to the sanctuary. By all means regard it as your most sacred duty to have them instructed and confirmed in the christian religion, according to the doctrines and usage of the church."

He loved his church, the church in which he had been reared. He was attached to its doctrines and usages, its institutions and its benevolent efforts. He was not illiberal in feeling, or proscriptive in action, he was willing to unite with christians

of every name, in efforts to do good ; yet he had little sympathy with those, who could abandon the communion of their fathers, and forsake the sphere of labor in which Providence seemed to call them, and which afforded opportunities of usefulness. In a printed sermon,¹ lying on our table, we find the following sentiments on this subject. After urging parents to train up their children in the church of their fathers, he continues : "We have always lived in peace with our evangelical sister churches, among whom we number many kind and dear brethren ; while we say, therefore, live in charity with them, we nevertheless add, only never forget your solemn obligations to your own Zion, and let your children participate with you in its privileges, for you will find no other church more scriptural in doctrine. The children need not be ashamed of the church in which their fathers gloried ; they need not fear to be lost in the communion, in which their kindred were saved. Let the Colleges and Seminaries of the church, her religious publications, her benevolent enterprises, her foreign and domestic missions, her education cause ; in short, let every thing connected with the Evangelical Lutheran church awaken a deep interest in you ; and let your exertions to promote her prosperity, be a light to guide others in the same glorious path."

In another discourse,² we find the following paragraph, indicating most clearly his strong church feeling : "I am none of those, who consider my own church as the only one within whose pale salvation can be found : nor do I condemn and denounce all other churches, merely because they differ in non-essentials from mine. God forbid ! My church and my Bible have not so taught me Christ. But on the contrary, neither am I one of those, who do not think my own church as good as the best of any other denomination." For the patriarchs of our church he had the most exalted regard.³ "Our fathers," says he, "undoubtedly deserve, in many instances, a high eulogy. *There were giants in the land in those days.* They built fine churches and parsonages, and erected schools (a distinguishing trait of Lutheranism) under most straitened circumstances. They sustained those churches and schools under very trying difficulties. They adhered faithfully to the doctrines and usages of the Reformation, amid powerful temp-

¹ Sermon delivered at the close of his ministry, Easton, Pa., March 9th, 1851. By the pastor, Rev. John W. Richards.

² Centenary Jubilee of the Evangelical Lutheran church, Trappe, Pa. Sermon by Rev. J. W. Richards, Germantown, Pa. page 32.

³ Ib. p. 35.

tations; they attended the worship of their own sanctuary, though far removed from it, when it would have been easier to have framed excuses for neglecting it, than many find at present. They instructed their children carefully in the creed of their church, and united them with its fellowship. They introduced a most scriptural discipline, and impartially enforced it. They elevated high the standard of piety, and above all, they glorified their faith with a holy walk, and departed this life in its blissful triumphs. In these respects they lose nothing in comparison with any of the people of God; alas! alas! how fallen many of their offspring."

In his theological creed, Dr. Richards was strictly orthodox. Whilst he regarded "the word of God as the only and sufficient rule of faith," he entertained a most profound veneration for the standards of the church. The Augsburg Confession he cordially adopted, as a summary of the fundamental doctrines of the Bible, "not to supersede," to use his own language, "but to elucidate the word of God, or rather to arrange its doctrines methodically, for the sake of perspicuity." He calls it a glorious creed,¹ and asks us to look at some of its fundamental doctrines. "They are," he observes, "the Trinity; the entire depravity of our fallen nature; the Deity and incarnation of Christ; the divinity and personality of the Holy Ghost; the atonement for sin through the sufferings and death of Christ, and the merits of his blood; the necessity of regeneration through the influences of the Holy Ghost; Justification by faith; the obligation of the moral law, viz.: good works, including purity of heart and life, the parity in the ministerial office; the means of grace; the resurrection of the dead; the final judgment, and the eternity of future rewards and punishments. Who will not acknowledge these to be truly scriptural?"

Dr. Richards was not, by any means, a brilliant preacher, yet he was instructive and evangelical. His discourses were simple and scriptural. The subjects he discussed, were the common, but important doctrines of the gospel. Their truths were enforced and commended to his audiences with much tenderness and earnestness. The services of the sanctuary he always conducted with great dignity and solemnity.

His numerous pastoral duties prevented Dr. Richards from leaving behind him any important literary monument. He did sometimes allow a sermon to be printed, and occasionally con-

¹ Centenary Jubilee, page 30.

tributed to the pages of the *Evangelical Review*. He also commenced the translation of the *Hallische Nachrichten*, in which he had, at the time of his death, made considerable progress. This is a volume of fifteen hundred and eighteen pages, and contains a narrative of the establishment and early progress of the American Lutheran church, prepared principally by Drs. Muhlenberg, Brunholtz, Kunze and Helmuth. It is an exceedingly important work, and we trust that some one, competent to the task, may be disposed to take charge of Dr. Richards' manuscripts, and complete the undertaking. Our General Synod, at its convention in Charlestown, S. C., in 1851, by a unanimous resolution, expressed a deep interest in Dr. R's. labors, and commended the enterprize to the attention of our members. The subject of our narrative was honored with the degree of D. D., from Jefferson College, Canonsburg, Pa., at its annual commencement in 1852.

Dr. Richards was a man of unfeigned piety. Religion, with him, seemed to be a fixed principle, and to predominate in his character, as a controlling agency. It was not feverish and inconsistent. It did not go and come by fits and starts. It was not confined to favorable junctures or circumstances, but its steady light shone forth at all seasons, and in all places, and burned with a pure and steady flame. He never assumed an appearance, which did not correspond with his habitual principles. There was a beautiful symmetry in his character. He was always the same spiritual, active, and devoted minister of the Lord Jesus, the same burning and shining light in the church of God. He never forgot his position as an ambassador of Christ. He expected to be justified by faith alone, yet not by a faith unattended by good works. He depended on the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, for aid in the performance of every duty, yet he diligently made use of the means afforded for his spiritual progress.

In all the various relations of private and social life, he uniformly evinced that conscientious fidelity, that honesty of purpose and singleness of aim, which the rules of the gospel prescribe, and the grace of the gospel inspires. He sometimes encountered opposition, yet his course was such as frequently to disarm hostility, and conciliate, where others would only have strengthened prejudices, and increased opposition. He was of a quiet, retiring, and unobtrusive spirit, of mild, and pleasant manners, of a confiding nature, great kindness and warm sympathy. Ill health had produced a tendency to a gentle melancholy, which often stole over him, and gave a

tinge to his character. He may have made mistakes, for who that is human, can lay claim to infallibility?

*Nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur, optimus ille est
Qui minimis urgetur.*

He may sometimes have exhibited infirmities, which will cling to us, while we abide in the flesh, yet he was generally careful and judicious, and always sincere and conscientious. He was cautious, and disposed to sacrifice much for peace, yet he was independent and bold in the discharge of duty. The fear of God, and the approbation of his own heart, he made the rule of his life, and the standard of his actions. He was domestic in his feelings, and very attentive to his family. He enjoyed the retirement of home, and bestowed great care upon his children. In all his habits he was extremely neat and methodical. In every article of his dress, in all the furniture of his house, in the arrangement of his papers and books, the most remarkable order was observed. His manuscripts were all most carefully written and his accounts most accurately kept. His entries in the church record, were made with the greatest precision, so as frequently to elicit the highest praise. Every thing was done by him with exact rule. He had a wonderful fondness for collecting statistical and analogous treasures. He had a profound regard for time-honored customs, and a deep reverence for sacred places. He was industrious, and permitted no day to pass without accomplishing something. He took a deep interest in any thing which engaged his attention. He was disposed to act on Shakspeare's principle—"No profit grows, where is no pleasure taken." He enjoyed the luxury of doing good, and he had the satisfaction of knowing that he lived to some purpose. He might readily have answered to the description given by the author of the Task :

"I would express him simple, grave, sincere,
In doctrine uncorrupt, in language plain,
And plain in manner; decent, solemn, chaste,
And natural in gesture; much impressed
Himself, as conscious of his awful charge,
And anxious mainly that the flock he fed
Might feel it too; affectionate in look,
And tender in address, as well becomes
A messenger of grace to guilty men."

Writes one¹ who was long associated with him in the sacred office : "That Dr. Richards was a truly pious and most amiable man, all acknowledge who had any acquaintance with

¹ Rev. Dr. Baker, of Philadelphia.

him; and it is also known that all the congregations of which he was the pastor, prospered under him." Another¹ who knew him well, thus testifies: "My own intercourse with Dr. Richards was most delightful. I never knew a more consistent, trust-worthy man. He was prudent, thoughtful and conscientious, active and zealous in every good work, and what I greatly admired, was the harmony in his character; he was never found wanting, but was never guilty of ultraism in deed or word—exceedingly firm in matters of principle, but winning in social life."

The memory of such a man cannot die. The influence of character cannot be destroyed by death. It survives the dissolution of the body, and continues unfading and immortal. It lingers among us after the "sunset of the tomb," to shed light, and to diffuse a rich fragrance upon those who still remain. *The memory of the just still lives. The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance.* Our friend and brother has gone to his rest! We should not murmur or repine. Let us rather be thankful, that God spared him thus long to the church. Our loss is his gain. There is a pleasure in the thought that his redeemed spirit, freed forever from the cares, the troubles, the conflicts, the turmoils, and the sorrows of earth, has gone—

"To repose, deep repose,
Far from the unquietness of life, from noise
And tumult far—beyond the flying clouds,
Beyond the stars and all this passing scene,
Where change shall cease, and time shall be no more."

¹ Rev. Dr. Schaeffer, of Easton, Pa.

ARTICLE IX.

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

History of the Origin, Formation, and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States; with Notices of its principal Framers. By George Ticknor Curtis. In two Volumes. Volume I. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square.—1854.

THAT the task of writing the history of the Constitution of the United States has at length, been performed by one most competent to execute it in a manner perfectly satisfactory, cannot but be a matter of gratification to every true American. The general facts connected with the formation and adoption of that great instrument, have long been familiar to all readers of American history. But, in the very nature of things, general historical works give no more than an outline of this most important affair: a special work, presenting, in ample detail, the facts, the discussions and debates, the obstacles to be surmounted, the objections to be removed, the interests to be met, or, when conflicting, to be reconciled, the fidelity, the patriotism, the abilities exhibited, the manner in which the consummation was finally reached, has long been a deeply-felt desideratum, which it had, for years, been the intention of that great statesman, Daniel Webster, measurably to supply, and the duty of supplying which he most earnestly urged, a few weeks before his death, upon his friend, the author, Mr. Curtis, who had long intended to write such a work, and had been making preparations for it, has, by the manner in which the task assumed has been performed, laid his countrymen and posterity under lasting obligations. What though his style be occasionally harsh and inelegant, it is clear, manly and nervous. The work is evidently, the fruit of laborious and careful research, of a most thorough understanding of the necessity, the nature and bearings of the constitution, and pervaded throughout by a tone of feeling thoroughly American. As yet, only the first volume is before us, this contains, besides the regular historical matter, sketches of the founders of the Constitution, written in a masterly manner, and profoundly interesting. When the second volume appears, we shall notice the work again, recommending it, for the present, to our readers, as a most valuable and important production.

The Christian Book of Concord, or Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church; comprising the three chief Symbols, the unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Smalcald Articles, Luther's Smaller and Larger Catechisms, the Formula of Concord and an Appendix. To which is prefixed an Historical Introduction. Second Edition, revised. Translated from the German. Newmarket: Published by Solomon D. Henkel & Brothers.—1854.

WE herewith acknowledge the receipt of a very elegant copy of the publication above named. To speak of the Book of Concord itself cannot be our busi-

ness here. But we are happy to say that, after having submitted their first edition to the most competent hands, for revision and correction, the publishers now offer to the ministers and members of our church in America, a faithful and accurate translation of our symbolical Books, to which an exceedingly valuable historical introduction, by Müller, is prefixed, as well as an important appendix annexed. The gentlemen who have performed the duty of revising and correcting the translation in the first edition, are: Rev. Drs. Krauth, Reynolds, Morris, and C. F. Schaeffer, and Prof. Lehmann of Columbus, Ohio, names which constitute an all sufficient guarantee for the fidelity and ability with which the work has been done: the only blemish that we have discovered consists in an extraordinary list of errata appended to the apology. We trust that this volume will be circulated throughout the whole of our church in America, so that edition after edition may be called for, and light diffused wherever it is needed. The publishers deserve all praise for their indefatigable efforts to make known the confessional books of our church, and for the satisfactory manner in which the translation has been brought out.

Gratitude: An Exposition of the Hundred and Third Psalm.
By the Rev. John Stevenson, Author of "The Lord our Shepherd," "Christ on the Cross," &c. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 285, Broadway.—1854.

THE author of this work first gives a general analysis of that glorious hymn of praise and thanksgiving, the Hundred and Third Psalm, and then, in twenty chapters, expatiates on the copious materials for profitable and edifying discourse which that portion of Scripture contains. The book, is instinct with the spirit of devout gratitude; and its clear expositions, its earnest exhortations, its apposite and striking illustrations, and its fervent appeals, designed to instruct the mind, to awaken the conscience, and to warm the heart, are, in a high degree, adapted, not only to enliven the graces of the christian reader, but to startle the heedless and unthankful, to impress them with the odiousness of ingratitude, and to impel them to the inquiry: "what shall we render unto the Lord for all his benefits." To christians it offers most profitable and delightful reading for the Lord's Day.

The Illustrated Natural History. By the Rev. J. G. Wood, M. A.
With four hundred and fifty original designs, by William Harvey.
New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers.—1854.

THE design of the author has been, to produce a "work of a popular character, in which accuracy of information and systematic arrangement are united with brevity and simplicity of treatment." In the execution of this design he has been eminently successful. He promises a systematic index, and, in the body of the work, introduces the description of each animal and its habits, by giving its scientific species-name, the different species being, in like manner, preceded by the systematic statement of the division, class, order, family and Genus to which they belong. Otherwise the work is of a strictly popular character: the descriptions are clear and graphic, and much entertaining matter relative to the pursuits, habits &c., of animals is present-

ed in a lively and attractive style. The engravings are accurate and spirited. Under the natural history of man, the doctrine of the unity of the human race is earnestly and ably defended. The work is beautifully got up, and the mass of valuable, interesting and entertaining information which it presents cannot fail to recommend it to the favor of the public.

Memoirs of celebrated Characters. By Alphonse De Lamartine, Author of "History of the Girondists," &c. &c. In two Volumes. New York : Harper & Brothers.—1854.

WITH this work, not designed for the higher classes, but for the people, Lamartine closes, as we understand him to say in the Introduction, his literary career. Without any discernible principle of selection, he has here given us the memoirs of Nelson, Heloise, Columbus, Bernard de Palissy, Roostam, Cicero, Socrates, Jacquard, Joan of Arc, Cromwell, Homer Guttenberg, and Fénelon. Equally enthusiastic in his admiration of the beautiful and the good, as in his abhorrence of the hollow, the base and the wicked, he paints his portraits with decided and strong colors, dazzlingly brilliant or repulsively sombre, as the case may be, and the reader has need to be on his guard, lest he be led into extravagant judgments by fervid eloquence. The catalogue of names given above will show the reader, to what a lustrous picture gallery this work introduces him. It is written with great power, and with all the sparkle of Lamartine's peculiar genius, and is throughout rich in interesting matter, and fascinating in style.

The World in the Middle Ages: An Historical Geography, with accounts of the Origin and Development, the Institutions and Literature, the Manners and Customs of the Nations in Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa, from the close of the Fourth to the Middle of the Fifteenth Century. By Adolphus Louis Koeppen, Professor of History and German Literature in Franklin and Marshall College, Pennsylvania. Accompanied by complete Historical and Geographical Indexes, and six colored Maps from the Historical Atlas of Charles Spruner, LL. D., Captain of the Engineers in the Kingdom of Bavaria. In two Volumes. New York : D. Appleton & Company.—1854.

THE author of this work, himself deeply learned in this department of study, has commanded, in its preparation, the best and most ample materials. He seems not to be acquainted with Dr. Anthon's large and classical work on the same subject; yet his plan is, in a great measure, different, and his work has a character and value all its own. He has enlivened the dry details of geography by the occasional introduction "of personal sketches, and notices of mediaeval institutions, with side-glances at the religions, languages, and literature of the different nations," thereby giving it additional interest and value. Comprehensive in its scope, it is very ample in its details, on some important points more so than other works. To the attentive reader of history, it will prove a most valuable companion, and it will be found an excellent class-book in higher Seminaries of learning.

More Worlds than one, the Creed of the Philosopher and the Hope of the Christian. By Sir David Brewster, K. H., D. C. L., F. R. S., Y. P. R. S., Edin., and associate of the Institute of France. New York : Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway.—1854.

THIS is a very interesting little volume, showing good reasons and sound analogical argument, why we should believe that there are more inhabited worlds than our own. Although speculations like these can be of no absolute practical value, as the point asserted can never be more than hypothetically made out, yet there is in them much to elevate the mind, to enlarge our views of the power, wisdom and goodness of God, and to expand and warm the heart. The work bears the impress of the author's genius, and will doubtless be read with much interest.

The Poetry of Germany. Consisting of Selections from upwards of Seventy of the most celebrated Poets, translated into English Verse, with the original text on the opposite Page. By Alfred Baskerville. New York : Rudolph Garrigue, 178 Fulton street, Leipsic G. Mayer.—1854.

THIS beautiful volume will be heartily welcomed by the lovers of good poetry, and more particularly by those who seek to form acquaintance with the vast poetic treasures of Germany. The translator has lived a great deal in Germany, and is as familiar with its language as with his own. In this we have a sufficient guarantee that, unlike so many who have ventured upon translations from the German poets, he has done his work intelligently, and with a just appreciation of the originals. But, notwithstanding the modest pretensions advanced on his preface, we may safely accord him the additional merit of very respectable poetical gifts. His translations are, throughout, well done : many of them, especially the ballads, a large number of the lyric, and some comic pieces are exceedingly happy. Indeed, while we admit that the shackles of the rhyme have sometimes given rise to flat and prosaic lines, it would be needless and thankless criticism to find fault, on this account, with an attempt, so modestly made, to open to English readers the exhaustless treasures of German poetry. The selections, both of authors and of specimens of their work, have been judiciously made, and the number of pieces given from the most distinguished poets, is quite large. The volume is very handsomely got up, and will, with its great variety of poetic pieces of the highest order, given, not only in a translation, but also in the original language, be an elegant and delightful companion to all who love good poetry. We would fain hope, that this attempt will be followed by others taking a still more extended range.

Ministering Children : a Tale dedicated to Childhood. By the Author of "Sunday Afternoons in the Nursery," "The Family Visitor to the Poor," &c. &c. New York : Riker, Thorne & Company, 129 Fulton Street.—1854.

THOSE who delight only in reading romantic scenes and adventures, will be disappointed in this book. Its design is, to teach and show children, by

gentle counsels and beautiful examples, how much good they may do by sympathy shown, and kind offices done, to the poor, the afflicted and the erring. Although intended for the instruction of childhood, we confess to having ourselves read it with deep interest: it is a perfectly delicious book; and, as it has done our heart good to read it, we doubt not that it will render the same service to other adult readers. It is full of the genuine spirit of christian kindness and love, and we know not a more suitable volume for Sabbath School libraries.

Outlines of History; illustrated by numerous geographical and historical Notes and Maps, embracing Part I. Ancient History: Part II. Modern History: Part III. Outlines of the Philosophy of History. By Marcus Wilson, author of "American History," "History of the United States," &c. University Edition. New York: Ivison & Phinney, 178 Fulton Street.—1854.

We have carefully examined extensive portions of this large and handsome volume, and, although there are a few points of history which we view in a somewhat different light from the author, we regard his work as eminently adapted to the purpose which he had in view: "to prepare a useful and interesting text-book on the subject of general history." His plan, which he fully unfolds and justifies in his preface, is very judicious, and well calculated, not only to interest the student, but, by giving due prominence to the main subjects of history, to aid his memory and to store it with the most important facts, and to furnish him with conspicuous landmarks, around which minor details, and the records of less important nations, are readily and naturally grouped. In this way, the history of Greece, Rome, Germany, France, and England, is more fully narrated than could otherwise be done, while, at the same time, a considerable degree of unity in the narrative is preserved, and the interest kept up. The history of America receives here only a passing notice, because to this the author has already devoted two distinct works. The author has followed, throughout, the highest and best authorities, and in the outlines of the philosophy of history, he has ably discussed sundry momentous questions connected with human affairs, and as far as could be expected in so brief a space, shown the student how history should be studied with reference to "the great lessons, social, moral and political, which it teaches." We can cordially recommend the work, not only as an excellent text-book for Colleges, but as a valuable manual for the general reader.

Arithmetical Analysis: or Higher Mental Arithmetic for advanced Classes. By James B. Thomson, LL. D. Author of "Mental Arithmetic," "Slate and Black-board Exercises," "Practical Arithmetic," "Higher Arithmetic," Editor of Day's School Algebra, Legendre's Geometry, etc. New York: Ivison and Phinney, 178 Fulton Street.—1854.

We entirely agree with the author of this little work, in regarding the early and frequent practice of the processes of mental arithmetic as exceedingly important, not only in disciplining the mind, generally, but in giving it a

great facility in conducting arithmetical computations. Our early experience in the business of teaching, convinced us of the value of this method. The author has here supplied a desideratum, a class-book in higher mental arithmetic, suitable for advanced classes, and teachers will find it admirably adapted for the purposes of instruction.

Herman and Dorothea. From the German of Goethe. Translated by Thomas Conrad Porter. New York : Riker, Thorne and Company, 129 Fulton Street.—1854.

We are much pleased to notice the translation of one of Goethe's happiest and purest productions. We would have preferred a metrical translation; but, fully sensible of the difficulties of such an attempt, we are thankful for the version before us. Even in English prose the beauties of the original poem do not quite disappear, and Prof. Porter has succeeded in presenting the charming story in very appropriate and pleasing language. Although we could wish a few expressions otherwise, we regard the translation as, on the whole, a happy one. The style in which the book is got up is creditable to the taste of the publishers.

Notes of a Theological Student. By James Mason Hopper. New York : D. Appleton and Company. London : 16 Little Britain.—1854.

THIS is not only an interesting and very agreeable, but, on sundry matters, instructive book. It records the observations and reflections of an acute and cultivated mind, guided by a truly devout, christian spirit, during a tour in Germany, Greece and the Holy Land. It discourses of German education and literature, of Luther, Schiller and Goethe, of German Scenery and German music, with intelligent appreciations and a genial spirit, of the Greek ideal with taste and critical discrimination, of the religion of Islam with severe justice, of the scenes and sacred traditions of Palestine with reverence and deep devotion, and concludes with a beautiful and eloquent article on the study of the Bible. It is an exceedingly attractive and interesting book.

Mile-Stones in our Life-Journey. By Samuel Osgood, Author of "The Hearth-Stone," "God with Men," "Studies in Christian Biography," &c. New York : D. Appleton & Company—1854.

THE author of this very beautiful and edifying book is a well known clergyman in the city of New York. With the two works last named on the title-page we are not acquainted; but we have, in a former number, noticed "The Hearth-Stone," and we are able to say that, as in that, so in the present volume, we have not found the peculiar doctrinal views of his sect brought forward. These works are strictly practical: they search out the experiences of the inner life and of the outward relations of the christian profession: they view the different stages of life's journey in the soft and mellow light in which they appear to every gentle spirit that learns and lives amid the active duties, strives and wins amid the conflicts, rests and rejoices amid the hopes of the christian race: their language is strictly evangelical:

their tone eminently devout: they are replete with kindly feeling, with a warm interest in human virtue and happiness, and with a pure and lofty wisdom, borrowed from the word of truth, to throw a vivid light upon the milestones of our heavenward journey through the darkness of this world. This volume will be found a delightful and profitable companion in those thoughtful and serious hours, in which the soul holds communion with itself concerning the past, the present and the future.

History of Pyrrhus. By Jacob Abbott. With Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers.—1854.

ANOTHER volume of Abbott's Historical Series, possessing all the pleasing and instructive qualities of its many predecessors.

Advanced Course of Composition and Rhetoric: A Series of Practical Lessons on the Origin, History, and Peculiarities of the English Language, Punctuation, Taste, the Pleasures of the Imagination, Figures, Style and its essential Properties, Criticism, and the various Departments of prose and poetical composition; illustrated with copious Exercises, adapted to self-instruction, and the use of Schools and Colleges. By G. P. Quackenbos, A. M., Associate Principal of "The Collegiate School," New York; Author of "First Lessons in Composition," &c. New York: D. Appleton & Company.—1854.

In this, as in his former works, the skill and practical tact of Mr. Quackenbos, who is an experienced and very successful teacher in New York, are eminently manifest. We greatly admire it in all its parts, however we might on some few points, differ, in theory, from the author. Due copiousness, both in the statement of principles, facts and rules, and in the apt illustrations, is happily combined with that judicious consciousness, which steers clear of obscurity on the one hand, and unnecessary diffuseness on the other. Hitherto no book on this subject has been able to supersede Blair's Rhetoric, which has maintained its ground by its peculiar adaptedness for the use of classes; but we hope to see it supplanted in our schools by the volume now before us. It is an excellent class-book, and we can have no hesitation in recommending it to all who give instruction in rhetoric and composition.

WE have occasionally noticed works of fiction in our Quarterly, for the simple reason that there seems to be a necessity for it. Say what you will, young people, and people not young, will read this kind of literature. Nor do we believe that, if a wise supervision and control be exercised over the young, and moderation, as well as discrimination, be observed by all, such reading does the harm that many imagine. It affords, often, a salutary relief and relaxation from the toils of an over tasked brain. As the appetite for this sort of intellectual luxury *will* be gratified, and as the press daily teems with a mass of worthless, nay, often pernicious trash, it is desirable and important to specify such works of the imagination, as are not only unobjectionable, but calculated to exert a beneficial influence on the mind and heart; on the habits of thought and feeling which the young are forming. As such

we would name, "Magdalen Hepburn, a story of the Scottish Reformation," a serious book, in which Knox, the Reformer, plays a conspicuous part: Riker, Thorne & Company, "Life's Lesson," in which the happy fruits of firmness and stability of character and genuine piety, are exhibited in contrast with the sad end of moral infirmity, love of excitement, and want of true religious principle. Harper & Brothers. "Chestnut-Wood;" by Liele Linden, in which the unsatisfactory nature of worldly wealth without religion is illustrated, the enjoyments and comforts of sincere piety in the humblest station, portrayed, the christian profession reverently honored, sincerity and strength of religious character earnestly commended and the miseries of vice and wickedness strikingly set forth. D. Appleton & Company. Also: "Later Years;" a fitting sequel to "The old House by the River." It is a favorable symptom of the times that many such works of fiction as these are published and sought after.

The Principles of Animal and Vegetable Physiology: A popular treatise on the Functions and Phenomena of Organic life. To which is prefixed a general view of the great departments of human knowledge. By J. Stevenson Bushnan, Physician to the Metropolitan free Hospital, &c. &c. With one hundred and two illustrations on wood. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea.—1854.

THE structure of man, who is at the head of creation, and of the inferior animals, may be regarded as a study both attractive and useful in a high degree, calculated alike to exalt our reverence for the Great Creator, and to profit our hearts. Animal functions, or physiology, in all its range, presents so much that is curious and instructive, that it may be pronounced specially attractive. Through the whole range of animated nature, the student discovers wonders of wisdom and knowledge, discerns remarkable adjustments and aptitudes, sees constantly that every part of the world is tenanted, and functions performed suited to necessities. The work of Bushnan furnishes, in a brief compass, a vast amount of information, not only in the department to which we have referred, but likewise in the department of vegetable physiology. Its numerous illustrations are well adapted to render intelligible its statements. Such books are a real treasure, and those who read them carefully, know, what cannot always be said after reading books, what they have acquired. The knowledge imparted is real, and it is useful.

Apocalyptic Sketches. Lectures on the Seven Churches of Asia Minor. By the Rev. John Cumming, D. D. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.—1854.

THE letters to the churches of Asia, contained in the Apocalypse, have frequently been used by christian preachers as the basis of a series of discourses. They contain matter of the highest interest, and furnish themes of great beauty and variety. In their illustration, history and poetry both find a place. They furnish ample materials for doctrinal and ethical instruction. They apply to the church in its various phases, and speak to the changing moods in which it appears.

Dr. Cumming, the popular London preacher, whose works are flying over our land, and interesting readers of religious books of all orthodox denominations, has contributed a volume to the same portion of God's word.

It will take its place aside of his other books, and their admirers will not fail to render their tribute to this. To some they may be even more attractive than other of his publications.

The Life of Martin Luther, and the Reformation in Germany.

With an Introduction by the Rev. Theophilus Stork, D. D., Author of "The Children of the New Testament," Beautifully Illustrated. Philadelphia : Lindsay & Blakiston.—1854.

THIS is a beautiful book filled with handsome wood cuts, of German origin, and translated into English. It contains but a part of the original, but enough to make it attractive and interesting. In the Evangelical Review, No. 12, there is an extended notice of the original, by one of our contributors. His article commences thus, and it characterizes the work well, we mean in its primitive form : "This is what we call a charming book ; a book with a great subject, and happy mode of treatment, well carried out, and combining the fascination of good pictures, good descriptions and elegant typography. It is an offering of flowers and fruit on the altar of the greatest memory, which the heart of modern christianity enshrines. It is the whole history of Luther told in pictures, and descriptions of those pictures, followed by a connected sketch of the Reformation, as it centred in him." The introduction by Dr. Stork, adds to the interest of the work, and will, we presume, increase its sale.

The Christian's Daily Delight, a Sacred Garland culled from English and American Poets. Illustrated. "Pluck a Flower."
Philadelphia : Lindsay & Blakiston.—1854.

A beautiful book, with fine engravings and fine poetry. It may be recommended for the eye, for the head, for the heart. It comes opportunely to make a valuable present to a friend. It will be in demand, or we are no prophet.

Lives of the Queens of England, Before the Norman Conquest.
By Mrs. Matthew Hall. Philadelphia : Blanchard & Lea.—1854.

THIS contribution to the History of England from the pen of Mrs. Hall, indicates much pains-taking and research. It contains a great deal of curious information in regard to the female sovereigns of England before the Conquest, which was not introduced into our ordinary histories. England, before the Conquest, can boast of females, consorts of her kings, who adorned our nature, and deserve to be remembered with the honor due to exalted worth. Some of these lives are highly interesting, and the author has succeeded well in the delineation of them.

Advanced Latin Exercises with Selections for Reading. American Edition: Revised with additions. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea.—1854.

A valuable school book, prepared with care, and well adapted for the purpose for which it was designed. It will, if used, contribute materially to a knowledge of the laws of the Latin Syntax, the structure of the language, and the purest forms of composition in it.

The Life of Philip Melanchthon. By Charles Frederick Ledderhose. Translated from the German by the Rev. G. F. Krotel, Rector of Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, Pa. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston.—1855.

ANOTHER contribution to our church literature, from a German source, transferred to our language by a gifted minister of the church. We hail its appearance with joy, and look upon it as additional evidence of the increasing activity of our ministry in the department of authorship, and an earnest of a future which will be characterized by less dependence on others, than has heretofore existed. The ministry of the Lutheran church in the United States, has the talent and learning, which, if properly employed, would enable it to enrich the English language with a theological literature which, whilst it would be specially useful to the church in whose service they are employed, would, at the same time, be profitable to all who might use it. The few specimens, of late afforded, both in the way of original composition and translation, have not only been well received, but deserve amply the praise which has been afforded them. We refer more particularly to the publications of Dr. Stork, of Philadelphia, and the Rev. Mr. Anspach, of Hagerstown. At an earlier period, the life of Luther, by Meurer, was given to our church in a translation, and now the life of Melanchthon, by Ledderhose. It will not be many days, we presume, until the History of Dr. Kurtz will be published, and in a few months, the Commentary of Tholuck on the Gospel of John, which is ready for the press. How much more may be in various stages of preparation, we are not prepared to say, but we expect to hear of more, and that ere long.

A good life of Melanchthon was certainly a desideratum in our language. Amongst the eminent men of our church and of the Reformation, he occupies a prominent place. Distinguished for uncommon abilities, great learning, a profound piety, and a happy power of self-control, he has ever been regarded, by those acquainted with him, as deserving admiration for his vast acquirements, and love for the amiability and moderation which he uniformly displayed.

A lover of peace, ready for compromise, when the truth was not compromised, he was firm in obedience to the dictates of his conscience. His services in the cause of the Reformation were numerous and great. The devoted and trusted friend of Luther, he never forsook him. Different as they were in some manifestations of character, they were one in devotion to Gospel truth, and heroism in the maintenance of it. The deficiencies of the one

were supplied by the other, so that there seemed a mutual adjustment which was highly salutary.

Of Mr. Krotel's qualifications to do justice to the work which he undertook, there can be no doubt. Familiar with both the German and the English language, he would be able to catch and express the sense of the original. We are satisfied, without comparison, for which we have not the means, that Ledderhoese speaking in English, is a fair representative of Ledderhoese speaking in German. Our examination of the work, which has not gone beyond detached parts, the excuse for which is its recent publication, has satisfied us that the translation is faithful, and it is certainly characterized by clearness. If the German idiom occasionally peers out, it does not mar the beauty or affect the intelligibility. It appears to us that in a *translation*, this is unavoidable, and few will, with right, claim a more entire freedom from it, who are really German scholars, than the translator of this book.

It has prefixed to it an engraving of Melanchthon, which gives it additional value. In his preface, the translator remarks: "Melanchthon has been called the most amiable, the purest and most learned of the celebrated men of the sixteenth century. The distinguished Erasmus confesses, that he was a general favorite, that honest and candid men were fond of him, and even his adversaries cannot hate him. And he has succeeded in securing the affections of posterity, and, more than any other one of the valiant champions of the Reformation, is the general favorite of all evangelical christians, and still seems to stand as the gentle mediator between the two great divisions of the Protestant church, formed at that time, claimed and loved by both." Speaking of the style of the original, he says: "The style is very simple and popular, and this simplicity and frequent quaintness of expression, especially in the numerous extracts from letters and declarations of faith, rendered the work of translation more difficult, especially as it seemed necessary and desirable to retain the homeliness of the German, as much as possible.

Again: "Believing that this portraiture of the life of Melanchthon cannot offend the feelings of any Protestant christian, but that it is calculated to afford instruction and edification to the old and the young, the translator humbly trusts, that it may not only make Lutherans, but many other evangelical christians, better acquainted with the 'faith and life' of the faithful friend of Luther, and distinguished author of the Augsburg Confession."

Earnestly desirous that this biography may be extensively circulated in general, and find special favor in our own communion, we intended to make some extracts, but omit them for want of room.

The Elements of Character. By Mary G. Chandler. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co., 111 Washington Street.—1854.

A didactic work inculcating high moral principles. Counsel so sage, so well expressed, so necessary, seriously pondered, must be profitable. The spirit of the work may be seen in its motto, from the Edinburg Review. "An exclusively intellectual education leads, by a very obvious process, to hard heartedness and the contempt of all moral influences. An exclusively moral

education tends to fatuity, by the over excitement of the sensibilities. An exclusively religious education ends in insanity, if it do not take a directly opposite course, and lead to atheism."

Hypatia: or, New Foes with an old face. By Charles Kingsley, Junr., Rector of Eversley. Author of "Alton Locke," "Yeast," &c. Second Edition. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co., 111 Washington Street.—1855.

THE readers of Church History are acquainted with the character and fate of Hypatia. The admired work, a second edition of which has just left the press, illustrates a very important and critical period of the church's history. The manner in which this is done by the gifted author, the rich drapery with which he has invested his narrative, and the truth and fulness of the portraiture, have commanded for him, and will continue to do so, a high degree of applause.

The Characteristicks and Laws of Figurative Language. By David N. Lord. Designed for use in Bible classes, Schools and Colleges. New York: Franklin Knight, 138 Nassau Street.—1854.

THE author of this work states, in the preface, that the views presented in it are quite unlike those of Quintilian, Kaimes, South and Blair, and other rhetoricians. This is true, to a certain extent. He enters into a more minute analysis of the several figures of speech, and furnishes rules for their application, not elsewhere to be found. He introduces also the figure Hypocatastasis, not to be found in the authors cited, and claims for it the merit of originality. From the cursory perusal which we have been enabled to give it, we are disposed to recommend it, for a work of its kind, as interesting and instructive. An attention to the lessons, and the general directions under them, with the questions appended, cannot fail to discipline the mind, improve the style, and enlarge the views of the force and expressiveness of language.

In the definition of the Hypocatastasis, he makes resemblance the foundation, and seeks to distinguish it by several particulars, from metaphor and other figures. In this, we think he has, in several instances, failed. Metaphor is also based upon resemblance. An accessory idea, more attractive and striking, is employed for the principal one. On pages ninety and ninety-one, a number of so-called Hypocatastases may, with propriety, be called metaphors, personification, &c., and on page seventy-eight, there is a clear and beautiful illustration of the figure called vision. We recommend the book as worthy of the attention of the student of language.

The Baptist System examined, the Church vindicated, and Sectarianism rebuked: A Review of Fuller on "Baptism and the terms of Communion." By Fidelis Scrutator. Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz.—1854, pp. 376.

THE volume, whose title page has been given, although published anonymously, is known to be from the pen of the Rev. J. A. Seiss, of Baltimore, Md., and is intended as a vindication of the views entertained by the Pedobaptists. Whilst it lays no claims to originality, it presents a most conclusive argument on a question, which has excited the deepest interest in the christian church. The discussion is candid and satisfactory, and expressed in language clear and forcible. The whole subject is treated in such a way as to interest and instruct the reader. The book will be found a convenient manual for reference, and we take pleasure in commending it to the notice of the church.

My Schools and Schoolmasters; or the Story of my Education.
By Hugh Miller. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.—1854, pp. 537.

THIS is an exceedingly interesting autobiography, written by one who has already received a large share of public attention. It is something of an educational treatise, thrown into a narrative form, and addressed more particularly to the working men of the day. The book does not consist of a formal discussion on self-culture, but the author presents the story of his own education with the view of exciting an interest among the humbler classes in society to the great business of self-improvement. Throughout the work there are scattered many pleasant incidents and attractive scenes, together with interesting glimpses of the inner life of the Scottish people. The style is easy and graceful. The descriptions are natural and graphic. The facts are valuable and instructive. The spirit is excellent, and the tendency of the volume most delightful.

A History of Greece from the earliest times to the Roman Conquest, with Supplementary Chapters on the history of Literature and Art. By William Smith, LL. D. Illustrated by one hundred engravings on wood. Boston: Jenks, Hickling & Swan.—1854, pp. 632.

THE high reputation which Dr. Smith, as an author, enjoys, makes any commendation on our part, entirely superfluous. All his publications are regarded as acquisitions of great value. His ripe scholarship, accurate judgment, classical taste, and his familiarity with the subject, to which he has devoted his life, render his labors in the department of classical history, exceedingly valuable. In the volume before us, he has presented a faithful picture of the principal facts of Grecian history, together with the leading characteristics of the political institutions, literature and art of the people, condensed in as brief a space, as well could be in a volume designed for schools. Grote's admirable history of Greece has been made the basis of this work, whilst

the researches of the most eminent scholars in England and Germany, have been consulted. A careful examination of the work will satisfy any one of its claims upon public favor.

A History of Roman Classical Literature. By R. W. Browne, M. A., M. D. Professor of Classical Literature in King's College, London. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea.—pp. 520.

We have already had occasion to speak in high terms of Browne's Grecian Literature. The volume before us will serve as a valuable accompaniment. It is a most excellent work, and aims to combine accuracy of information and systematic arrangement with brevity and perspicuity of discussion. The materials are judiciously selected, and sufficiently full and copious for the object intended. The book supplies a desideratum, which has been long felt. Although the existence of Roman literature, dating from its earliest infancy until the epoch when it ceased to deserve the title of classical, occupies a period of less than four centuries, it embraces the names of many illustrious writers, who have shed a bright lustre upon the history of the world.

The Practical Elocutionist and American Reader and Speaker: Designed for the use of Colleges, Academies, High Schools and Families. By John W. S. Howe, Professor of Elocution in Columbia College. Philadelphia: R. E. Peterson & Co.—1854, pp. 430.

THIS volume presents a system of elocution, the results of the author's practice as a teacher, endorsed by the approbation of intelligent persons, who have witnessed its successful operations. It also contains a collection of examples adapted to the increasing intelligence and improved taste of the day. The extracts given for oratorical exercise and poetical recitation, are exceedingly rich and varied. Many of the selections have never before been introduced into any similar work, whilst there is scarcely a name, distinguished in modern literature, some of whose compositions do not appear in the volume. We regard the book as one of the best of its kind, and feel under obligations to our enterprising friends for this, as well as numerous other useful educational works.

Popular Tales. By Madame Guizot. Translated from the French by Mrs. L. Burke. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co.—1854, pp. 404.

Children's trials illustrated: or the Little Rope Dancers and other tales. Translated from the German of Augusta Linden, by Trauer Mantel. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co.—1854, pp. 238.

We are happy that our juvenile friends are not forgotten in the multiplicity of books issued from the American press. Their wants ought to be regarded. There is a growing disposition among the young to read, and it is highly important that books of the right sort should be placed in their hands, that their morals may not suffer. The volumes before us, we think, can be safe-

ly recommended. The stories are interesting and instructive, intended to illustrate some important principle, or to enforce some moral truth. The books are attractive in appearance, and illustrated with several beautiful colored engravings.

ARTICLE X.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

Theologische Studien Kritiken. Jahrgang 1854, Vierter Heft..

Contents.

Treatises.—1. The Old Testament in Christ's discourses, by Dr. Gotthard Victor Lechler.

2. On the locality of Bethel, Rama and Gilgal, by K. A. Graf.

Views and Remarks.

1. On the design and origin of the first epistle to the Thessalonians, by Dr. R. A. Lipsius.

2. On the passage in the epistle of James, Chap. 4: v. 5 and 6, by Dr. Willibald Grimm.

Reviews.

1. Dr. Lücke's attempt at a complete introduction to the Apocalypse of John; reviewed by Bleek.

2. Dr. Herzog, Real Encyclopedia for Protestant Theology; reviewed by K. R. Hagenbach.

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2. Schenkel, on the principles of Protestantism.

3. Schwarz. Melanchthon's Outline of the Hypotheses.

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K. Ströbel, Dr. J. Müller's doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

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W. Neumann, Life, observations and labors of a Protestant in Rome. Second article. Instruction of children.

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Contents.

Dr. Julius Müller on the Lord's Supper.

The contents of the yellow leaves.

On the origin of the Sacred Scriptures.

The matter of prayer meetings in Bavaria.

Hosea and his prophecy.

Earnest appeal to christian friends.

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On the conception and plan of introductions to the sacred writings, and specially the Old Testament.

Alexander von Oettlengen's hope of Israel.

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Begründet durch Dr. Jul. Müller, Dr. Aug. Neander, Dr. K. J. Nitzsch.—
Herausgegeben von Lic. K. F. Th. Schneider.

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31. Andreas Gerhard Hyperius. On two newly discovered exegetical works of the ancient church, by Prof. Dr. J. L. Jacobi.
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 33. The Union as Right and Duty. A disquisition for the times in the department of church history.
 34. The Union as Right and Duty (Continued).

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35. The Union &c. (Concluded)
 36. America. The Germans in America, by Dr. Schaff.
 37. The Germans in America.
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- No. 61. Communications from Silesia.
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 62. Communications from Silesia.

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63. Free Masonry and the Ministerial office. Second part.
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 67. Eritis sicut Deus. An anonymous Romance in three volumes. (Continued.)

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68. Eritis sicut Deus. (Concluded.)
 The question of the Adiaphora, Supplement. Order of the Consistory of the Province of Westphalia, in respect to continuing the circulation of the Bible with the Apocrypha.

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The General Conference of the Society for promoting gospel missions amongst the Heathen, 13th June 1854 at Berlin.

Evangelical Synod at Frankfort on the Main.
 69. General vis. in the Schönlarke Diocese.

Intelligence—The General Conference, &c.

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In addition to church intelligence of a highly interesting character, the September number contains a series of communications in regard to the Baptists. The introduction of this element into Germany, with its peculiar views and pretensions, well understood in the United States, has rendered it necessary to put forth defensive measures. The articles in Heagtenberg are a contribution to this.

EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

The present number brings us so near to the close of our sixth year, that we deem it suitable to direct the attention of our readers to the future of our Review. We present to our patrons a few questions, which they are entitled to answer for themselves, and to act accordingly.

Was it wise to commence such a publication?

Was the plan adopted for it (open to all Lutherans) a good one?

Has it sustained itself creditably in its contents, &c., thus far?

Should it be continued?

We speak to wise men, let them judge with wisdom. Whatever may be our own convictions, we do not intend to enforce them upon others, but we ask of those who approve the plan of the publication, who wish to see it progressing in a prosperous career, to do their duty. A very little effort on the part of each subscriber, will place us in an encouraging position, and send us forward in the career on which we have entered.